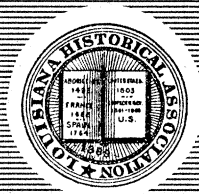


WINTER 1960
Vol. I, No. 1

LOUISIANA
HISTORY

THE JOURNAL OF THE
LOUISIANA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION



*THE
LOUISIANA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION*

PRESIDENT

John S. Kyser, Northwestern State College

SECRETARY-TREASURER

John C. L. Andreassen, State Archives & Records Commission

EXECUTIVE-SECRETARY

Kenneth Trist Urquhart, St. Mary's Dominican College

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Paul T. Nolan, Southwestern Louisiana Institute

Charles P. Roland, Tulane University

E. Frank Massingill, Louisiana College

Walter M. Lowrey, Francis T. Nicholls State College

A. L. Tatum, Northeastern State College

Mattie Gray Brown, Byrd High School, Shreveport

Raleigh Suarez, McNeese State College

Garnie William McGinty, Louisiana Technological Institute

Sidney J. Romero, Southeastern Louisiana College

Edwin Adams Davis, Louisiana State University

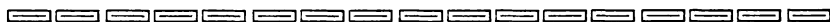
Colonel Henry B. Curtis, Washington Artillery, New Orleans

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

John C. L. Andreassen, Edwin Adams Davis, John S. Kyser,

Sidney J. Romero, Kenneth Trist Urquhart

LOUISIANA HISTORY



Published quarterly by the
Louisiana Historical Association
in cooperation with
Louisiana State University



PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

Charles P. Roland, Tulane University
Raleigh A. Suarez, McNeese State College
Eugene P. Watson, Northwestern State College



MANAGING EDITOR

Edwin Adams Davis



ASSOCIATE EDITOR

A. Otis Hebert, Jr.



WINTER 1960 • Volume I, No. 1

Louisiana History is distributed to members of the Louisiana Historical Association. Single copies, \$2.00. Membership in the Association: *Individual*—Student, \$2.00; Active, \$5.00; Family, \$6.00; Contributing, \$25.00; Sustaining, \$100.00; Life, \$1,000.00. *Associate Organizations*—Active, \$10.00; Sustaining, \$100.00; *Cooperating Agencies*—Active, \$10.00. *Contributing Corporations*—Active, \$25.00; Sustaining, \$500.00. Correspondence should be addressed to the Secretary-Treasurer, 155 East Airport Avenue, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Permission is granted to reprint any article or other material, either in whole or in part, provided credit is given to *Louisiana History* (including date citation). The Louisiana Historical Association disclaims responsibility for statements whether of fact or of opinion made by contributors.

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be addressed to the Managing Editor, *Louisiana History*, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Louisiana History is published quarterly by the Louisiana Historical Association at Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Application to mail at second-class postage rates is pending at Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Contents

	PAGE
Seventy Years of the Louisiana Historical Association . . . <i>By Kenneth Trist Urquhart</i>	5
The Outdoor Oven in Louisiana <i>By Fred Kniffen</i>	25
The Foreign Slave Trade in Louisiana After 1808 <i>By Joe G. Taylor</i>	36
Joseph Carson, Louisiana Confederate Soldier <i>By John Q. Anderson</i>	44
Vignettes	70
Notes and Comments	75
Book Reviews	82

Book Reviews:

	PAGE
Beers, <i>The French in North America. A Bibliographical Guide to French Archives, Reproductions, and Research Missions</i> , by Jerome V. Jacobsen.....	82
Giraud, <i>Histoire de la Louisiane Francaise: Annes de Trans- ition, 1715-1717</i> , by Philip D. Uzee.....	83
Bedsole and Richards (eds.), <i>Louisiana State University: A Pictorial Record of the Past Hundred Years</i> , by John P. Dyer.....	84
Johnson, <i>Red River Campaign: Politics and Cotton in the Civil War</i> , by G. W. McGinty.....	85
Yates, <i>William T. Porter and the Spirit of the Times, A Study of the Big Bear School of Humor</i> , by Milton Rickels	86
Sindler, <i>Huey Long's Louisiana: State Politics, 1920-1952</i> , by T. Harry Williams.....	87
Roland, <i>Louisiana Sugar Plantations During the American Civil War</i> , by Raleigh A. Suarez.....	88
Carter, <i>The Angry Scar: The Story of Reconstruction</i> , by Martina E. Buck.....	89
Duffy (ed.), <i>Parson Clapp of the Strangers' Church of New Orleans</i> , by William D. Postell.....	90
<i>The Journal of Jean Laffite: The Privateer-Patriot's Own Story</i> , by Peter J. Cangelosi.....	91
Taylor (ed.), <i>Reluctant Rebel: The Secret Diary of Robert Patrick, 1861-1865</i> , by Charles P. Roland.....	92
Skipper, <i>J. D. DeBow, Magazinist of the Old South</i> , by Paul T. Nolan.....	93

*Seventy Years of the Louisiana Historical Association**

By KENNETH TRIST URQUHART

who holds the M.A. degree from Tulane
University and who is instructor of history,
St. Mary's Dominican College.

THE YEARS FOLLOWING the Civil War were trying ones for New Orleans, for although it had been spared destruction from military bombardment it had suffered military occupation, and there was extensive evidence to testify to the many hardships which beset the Crescent City. The economic life of the once-proud ante bellum port was in a chaotic condition. Her old merchant class had been nearly wiped out by the war; and many of her banks held worthless notes and Confederate money and bonds. Citizens, returning from the war, crowded the labor market; country folk, seeing little future on ravaged farms and plantations, had thronged to the city in search of employment.

Especially depressing was the destitute condition of Confederate widows, disabled veterans, and war orphans. Under normal conditions it would have been difficult providing for such a large number of unfortunates; but under the circumstances, the task was one of indescribable proportions. It is to the credit of the returning Confederate veterans that they did not allow the wants of their own families to blind them to the needs of these less fortunate victims of the Civil War.

Although most of the survivors of the Confederate Army did not reach New Orleans until May, 1865, by mid-June

* A paper read at the Louisiana Historical Association convention at Alexandria, March 21, 1959.

they were actively engaged in fund-raising campaigns for the needy, ably assisted by the ladies of the city who never tired in their support of relief activities. Charity races were held at the Fair Grounds; noted Louisiana historian and statesman, Charles Gayarré, was enlisted to lecture for the relief of the Jefferson Davis family; and the first legislature which met after the close of hostilities was induced to establish a home for disabled veterans. In order to make their relief work more effective, the survivors of different commands banded together into benevolent associations, adopting names reminiscent of their old units. Among these were "The Fifth Company, Washington Artillery Benevolent Association," "The Washington Relief Association," and "Gibson's Brigade Benevolent Association."¹

By the summer of 1866, the Confederate veterans of New Orleans had accomplished much in relieving the hardships of the more unfortunate victims of the Civil War in their city; but it was felt that even more could be accomplished by uniting all the separate benevolent associations into one large organization. With this object in mind, the "Soldiers' Relief Convention" met in Lyceum Hall on July 17, 1866. The spirit of enthusiasm displayed by this gathering was so great that it aroused the fears of Federal authorities, who, soon afterwards, ordered the suppression of Confederate organizations in New Orleans. Henceforth, the work of these associations had to be conducted in the names of the ladies, quietly, and often in secrecy.²

Almost from their founding, the Confederate associations in New Orleans had contemplated expanding their programs to include historical activities. The suppression of these organizations ended any plans which they had made in this respect; but, upon the first relaxation of military repression in the city, leading Confederate veterans met and organized the Southern Historical Society in May, 1869. Dr. Benjamin M. Palmer, the famed Presbyterian divine, was elected its first President, and Confederate Generals Bragg, Beauregard,

¹ *New Orleans Daily States*, June 18, 1897.

² *Ibid.*

Buckner, and Maury were among its founders. Great hopes were entertained for the organization and branches were contemplated in every Southern state. Unfortunately, the political unrest in the Reconstruction South interfered with its growth; it languished, and in 1873 it was moved to Richmond, much to the regret of the Confederate veterans in New Orleans.³

With the end of Reconstruction and the overthrow of the Carpet-bag government in the mid-1870's, local Confederate veterans were able to resume their activities without fear of molestation. The Association of the Army of Northern Virginia was chartered in 1876 and in the following year the Association of the Army of Tennessee was organized. Other organizations with similar aims were formed, among them the Association of Veterans of Confederate States Cavalry and the Washington Artillery Association. These Confederate organizations devoted themselves chiefly to relief and memorial activities; but, they also displayed an active interest in historical matters. Through the efforts of historical committees each group was able to collect many relics and historical documents. In time these formed valuable collections which were highly prized by the associations which owned them; but they were not open to the view of the general public. Since the collections were kept separately, they were often poorly housed and consequently exposed to possible loss and destruction. It became increasingly evident to the veterans that something had to be done to insure the future preservation and wider utilization of the valuable historical materials in their possession.⁴

Finally in 1887-1888, Colonel A. J. Lewis, President of the Association of the Army of Tennessee, proposed to the other Confederate Veteran organizations that they unite with the Association of the Army of Tennessee in establishing a common place of deposit for their historical material. His

³ *Confederate Veteran*, VI (December, 1898), 547; *New Orleans Daily States*, June 18, 1897; E. Merton Coulter, *The South during Reconstruction 1865-1877* (Baton Rouge, 1947), 182-183.

⁴ *New Orleans Daily States*, June 18, 1897.

proposal was given careful consideration by the veterans; and Tulane University, the Washington Artillery Hall, the Howard Library, and other places were considered as possible locations for the contemplated joint depository. In the early part of February, 1889, the Association of the Army of Tennessee issued a circular letter to the other veterans' organizations asking that they appoint committees to consider the matter. The committees met jointly, and, after discussing the merits of various locations, decided to respond to an invitation from Frank T. Howard to examine the Howard Memorial Library at Lee Circle.

Howard offered to provide them with suitable space in the library in which to keep their valuable manuscripts and to display their Confederate relics, and the committees voted unanimously to recommend his offer to their associations. Then Howard suggested that possibly the veterans might be interested in enlarging the scope of their proposed joint collection to include relics, books, and documents connected with all periods of Louisiana history. Howard went on to propose that, in the event their associations were interested in doing this and the library could not provide adequate space for the enlarged collection, he "could promise the addition of an annex where the relics could be stored and exhibited in a fire proof building forever." The veterans enthusiastically accepted Howard's generous offer, and their associations soon voted to unite their collections in the Howard Library and to expand the scope of the joint collection to include all periods of Louisiana history.⁵

The idea of the formation of a Louisiana historical association came as a natural development of Howard's proposal. Expressing the belief that there was "plenty of good material" for an historical society, Howard actively assisted the Confederate veterans in organizing a state historical association. After securing copies of the charters and by-laws of several

⁵ *Ibid.*, June 18, 1897; Manuscript notes on the founding of the Louisiana Historical Association, in the Louisiana Historical Association Papers, Louisiana Historical Association Collection (Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University).

other state historical societies, he and representatives of the veterans drew up a charter and by-laws for the new organization. The final draft of the charter was adopted in April, 1889, and the Louisiana Historical Association was incorporated under the laws of the State of Louisiana on the eleventh of that month.⁶

In outlining the aims of the Association, the charter provided that: "The objects and purposes for which this corporation is formed are to collect such books, pamphlets, papers, documents, flags, maps, plans, charts, paintings, engravings, lithographs and other pictorial representations, manuscripts and other things appertaining to the history of the territory of Louisiana, both before and after its cession to the United States, and especially the collection and preservation of all papers, documents, relics, etc., relating to the War between the States from 1861 to 1865. And this corporation shall have the right to compile and publish and to have compiled and published, books, plans, charts and other papers and documents relating to the purposes for which it is organized, and to apply for and hold copyrights and patents necessary to its protection."

The powers of the Association were vested in a board of governors, consisting of twenty-five members, equally distributed among representatives of the Association of the Army of Tennessee, the Association of the Army of Northern Virginia, the Battalion of Washington Artillery, the Association of Veterans of Confederate States Cavalry, and the trustees of the Howard Memorial Library Association. The members of the first board of governors were: J. B. Wilkinson, Jr., George H. Frost, R. S. Venables, J. K. Renaud, and W. P. Johnston, representing the Association of the Army of Tennessee; John T. Purves, E. D. Willett, Peter Blake, T. S. Campbell, and Thomas Higgins, representing the Association of the Army of Northern Virginia; W. M. Owen, E. I. Kurses, C. L. C. Dupuy, Joseph H. DeGrange, and J. H. Dug-

⁶ Frank T. Howard to "Dear Col." (William Miller Owen), March 9, 1889, in the Louisiana Historical Association Papers; *Act of Incorporation and By-Laws of the Louisiana Historical Association* (New Orleans, 1915), 5.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

gan, representing the Battalion of Washington Artillery; J. H. Behan, D. A. Given, T. E. Davis, S. S. Prentiss, and W. R. Lyman, representing the Association of Veterans of Confederate States Cavalry; Frank T. Howard, G. T. Beauregard, J. N. Galleher, Robert Maxwell and Charles E. Fenner, representing the board of trustees of the Howard Memorial Library Association. This board elected as the first officers of the association: Frank T. Howard, President; W. R. Lyman, First Vice-President; William Miller Owen, Second Vice-President; D. A. Given, Secretary and Treasurer; and Charles A. Nelson, Custodian.⁸

The by-laws of the Association provided for a general membership, consisting of "white persons of good moral character, who were in the service of the Southern Confederacy, and of their white descendants of good moral character, and also of white persons of good moral character who were not in such service, but who have been citizens of Louisiana for more than five years previous to their application for membership." It also provided for an honorary membership to be chosen by the board of governors. The initiation fee of the Association was set at \$2.00 and the dues were fixed at \$1.00 per annum.⁹

The first board of governors wasted no time in launching the activities of the Louisiana Historical Association. The collections belonging to the various Confederate veterans' organizations were moved into a compartment of the Howard Library provided for the use of the Association. Under the enthusiastic influence of Colonel William Miller Owen, the Louisiana Historical Association's collection grew with such rapidity that it was evident almost immediately that it would soon outgrow its quarters in the library. True to his promise, Frank T. Howard induced the board of trustees of the Howard Library to acquire a lot of ground which adjoined the library, fronting Camp Street. In early July, 1889, he reported that he intended to erect new quarters for the Asso-

⁸ *Ibid.*, 7-8.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 13-14.

ciation at this location and that he expected to have plans for the new building drawn that very summer.¹⁰

While preparations were being made for the erection of this structure, the officers of the Association devoted themselves enthusiastically to the work of enlarging the general membership and within a short time the number of names on the membership rolls increased considerably. Efforts were made to publicize the work of the Association and interested parties were encouraged to place historical relics, documents, and books in the Association's collection. Special efforts were made to induce prominent Confederate veterans to turn over their personal effects. Accordingly, President Jefferson Davis, Commodore William Wallace Hunter, General Joseph E. Johnston, and General John B. Gordon were elected honorary members of the Association. Although President Davis died shortly after his election, his widow was contacted by Colonel Owen, a friend of the Davis family, and she agreed to place a large part of her husband's papers and mementoes in the Association's collection. As a result, over 2,000 of the President's belongings were entrusted to the safekeeping of the new organization. Among other prominent Confederates who responded favorably to the Association's appeal were Commodore Hunter and Mrs. Braxton Bragg, who contributed many valuable items. Although the Civil War period was stressed in the Association's activities, other phases of Louisiana history were not ignored. In order to make this clear, an official seal was adopted on which important dates in Louisiana history were prominently displayed, and efforts were made to collect items from Louisiana's colonial and ante-bellum past.¹¹

Less than two years after its founding, the Louisiana Historical Association took possession of its new quarters. Completed in December, 1890, the building exhibited the very

¹⁰ Manuscript notes on the founding of the Louisiana Historical Association in the Louisiana Historical Association Papers; Frank T. Howard to W. R. Lyman, July 3, 1889, Louisiana Historical Association Papers.

¹¹ William M. Owen to D. A. Given, September 27, 1890, Louisiana Historical Association Papers; *First Circular and Catalogue of the Louisiana Historical Association*. (New Orleans, 1891), 4-5.

latest in museum eloquence. The architects, Messrs. Sully and Toledano, had designed it so that it would conform in a general way with the Romanesque type of architecture of the Howard Library which adjoined it. The structure consisted of one story and a basement surrounded by a high terrace. Its outer walls were of pressed brick, ornamented with richly carved, semi-glazed terracotta trimmings; while the retaining wall and steps were of Long Meadow brown stone. The interior was finished in highly-polished cypress. Handsome display cases lined the walls in the main hall, which was equipped to serve as a meeting place as well as a museum. A large, fireproof vault in the basement provided adequate storage space for valuable manuscripts.¹²

The Louisiana Historical Association expressed its great satisfaction with its new quarters by planning a memorable celebration for the day of the formal dedication of the building. January 8, 1891, the seventy-sixth anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans, was the date chosen for the ceremony. Numerous invitations were sent out and many business houses adorned their buildings with flags and declared a holiday in honor of the occasion. Despite a "continuous and penetrating rain" on the afternoon of the eighth, many Confederate veterans and local military units participated in a grand parade preceding the dedication of the new building. The procession dispersed in front of the quarters of the Association and the veterans entered the building to the inspiring notes of the "Bonnie Blue Flag," played by the Washington Artillery band.

After the customary preliminary ceremonies, Frank T. Howard, President of the Louisiana Historical Association and donor of the building, made a brief address and formally transferred the museum to the Board of Governors for the perpetual use of the Association. Colonel William Preston Johnston accepted the gift on behalf of the Board. After a stirring address by Judge C. E. Fenner, the dedication cere-

¹² Frank T. Howard and D. A. Given to "the President and Members of the Benevolent Association, Army of Tennessee, Louisiana Division," November 10, 1890, copy in the Louisiana Historical Association Papers; New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, January 9, 1891.

monies were concluded. The Historical Association's museum was given the name "Memorial Hall," in compliance with Howard's wish that the building and its collection might forever proclaim "how a brave people and their descendants hold the name and the fame of their heroes and martyrs with admiration undiminished by disaster or defeat and with a love unquenched by time."¹³

Possession of Memorial Hall encouraged the Association to seek even greater accomplishments than those already achieved. Through the untiring interest of President Howard and other members of the Board of Governors, the organization made notable progress. The general membership increased steadily and the illustrious name of Charles Gayarré, famed Louisiana historian, was added to the list of honorary members. In August, 1891, the Association issued its first publication, entitled: *First Circular and Catalogue of the Louisiana Historical Association*. Thanks to the continued efforts of Colonel William Miller Owen, Second Vice President and Custodian of Memorial Hall, the Executive Committee was able to report that the Association's collection contained "over 4,000 valuable manuscripts, books and papers . . . besides portraits of distinguished men, arms, uniforms, regimental flags, etc." In the words of the *First Circular*, the results of the Association's activities were "highly encouraging."¹⁴

Shortly after its dedication, Memorial Hall became the scene of a most solemn occasion, which made it a place of considerable historic interest in its own right. On December 6, 1889, Jefferson Davis, only President of the Confederate States of America, died in New Orleans. Following an impressive funeral pageant, the dead chieftain's body had been given temporary burial in the Army of Northern Virginia's tomb in Metairie Cemetery. After three-and-a-half-years, the

¹³ New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, January 9, 1891; Frank T. Howard to the Board of Governors of the Louisiana Historical Association, January 8, 1891, copy in the Louisiana Historical Association Papers.

¹⁴ Charles Gayarré to D. A. Given, May 14, 1891, Louisiana Historical Association Papers; *First Circular and Catalogue of the Louisiana Historical Association*, 3-5.

President's widow decided that Mr. Davis' remains should be permanently laid to rest in Richmond, Virginia. In accordance with her wishes, the copper casket containing the President's body was removed from its vault in the tomb of the Army of Northern Virginia on May 27, 1893. The casket was then placed in a brass-trimmed oak coffin and transported under military escort to Memorial Hall, where it lay in state until the next evening, when it was removed to the Louisville and Nashville Railroad depot for its final trip to Richmond. The short period when the Confederate President's body lay in state in the Louisiana Historical Association's museum is of such interest that fuller treatment should be given to this brief event in the Association's history.¹⁵

The hearse bearing the President's remains arrived at Memorial Hall late in the afternoon of Saturday, May 27th. Amid a "stifling" silence broken only by the slow rolling of thunder in the west, the casket was carried into "the relic-hung hall" and placed on a simple, antique oak bier at the upper end of the long room. Here, beneath tattered battle flags and amid thousands of relics of the people whom he had guided in their ill-fated war for independence, the Confederate leader's body spent its last few hours in New Orleans. Covered only with the faded Mexican War flag of the First Mississippi Rifles which he had commanded long before the Civil War, and guarded by survivors of the vast armies which once had marched under his command, Jefferson Davis' casket lay in state. During the evening of the twenty-seventh and late into the afternoon of the twenty-eighth, a steady stream of people filed silently into Memorial Hall in order to pay their last respects to the departed Southern leader. Finally, as evening shadows began to appear in Camp Street, immense crowds formed outside the Hall, while a distinguished gathering assembled within. On the platform sat Governor Murphy J. Foster of Louisiana, his lieutenant governor, the mayor of Richmond, and Miss "Winnie" Davis and other relatives of the late President. At the appointed

¹⁵ Edison H. Thomas, *Story of the Jefferson Davis Funeral Train* (reprinted from the *L&N Magazine*, February, 1955), 3-5.

time, the Governor arose and spoke briefly of the solemnity of the events which were taking place. Then letters were read authorizing the transfer of the President's remains from New Orleans to Richmond. After a fervent prayer delivered by the Rev. A. Gordon Bakewell, "an impromptu body of pall-bearers, from among the veterans in the crowd," formed, carried the casket out of the Hall, and placed it upon a crepe draped catafalque drawn by four black horses. While bands played mournful music, the funeral procession moved slowly up Camp Street and Jefferson Davis' remains were carried out of sight of the Louisiana Historical Association's museum.¹⁶

At the annual election of officers in 1893, Frank T. Howard, first President and patron of the Louisiana Historical Association, retired from office. He was succeeded by Lieutenant Colonel Edward A. Palfrey, a noted Confederate veteran. It was during Colonel Palfrey's presidency that the future development of the Association's museum was seriously threatened by the collecting activities of several other museums throughout the South, and particularly by the formation of the Confederate Memorial Association which had been organized in the mid-1890's in order to raise funds for the erection of a "National Confederate museum" or "Battle Abbey" in Richmond, Virginia. To meet this challenge, the Louisiana Historical Association was fortunate in having as a member Colonel Joseph A. Chalaron, a man of tireless energy. As Chairman of the Association's Archives Committee, Colonel Chalaron, early in 1897, exhorted the Association "to be up and moving; to act now, if we wish to hold in its entirety what we have already accumulated, and carry our Museum to what its Projectors aimed to have it—unsurpassed by any in the South." Warning that relics and historical records still in private hands would "go where most energy is shown," he urged that the favorable sentiment aroused by the Battle Abbey movement not be overlooked or disparaged; but that it be taken advantage of and directed as much as possible to the benefit of the Louisiana Historical Association. Accordingly, he advocated that the Association approach its

¹⁶ New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, May 27, 28, 29, 1893.

activities in a more "thoughtful, earnest, and businesslike way" than it had in the past; and that it employ systematic solicitation as a means of enlarging its collection.¹⁷

In response to Chalaron's appeal for renewed vigor, the Association took immediate steps to strengthen its position. Until this time, the activities of the organization had been financed chiefly by annual contributions from the Confederate veterans' organizations which met in Memorial Hall. It was evident that this method of financing was inadequate and that new sources of revenue had to be developed in order to increase the effectiveness of the Association. Thus a movement was begun with the object of raising an endowment fund for the maintenance of the museum. In an effort to enlist public support, the work of the Louisiana Historical Association was featured in a full page spread in the "Confederate Veteran Edition" of the *Daily States* of June 18, 1897. Although this publicity made the Association better known, it produced relatively little in the line of voluntary contributions.

In hopes of providing a steady source of income, the Board of Governors decided to appeal for state support of the Association's museum. Accordingly, plans were made to enlist the aid of the Louisiana Constitutional Convention which was scheduled to meet in New Orleans in 1898; and a committee was formed to contact the convention delegates and induce them to draft and adopt a provision in the new constitution for the support of Memorial Hall. In order to meet a pressing need for additional space in the museum, the Association's patron, Frank T. Howard, enlarged Memorial Hall by adding an attractive gallery running the full length of the building. This fire-proof annex, equipped with specially constructed steel and glass museum cases, provided ample room for the rapidly increasing collection.¹⁸

¹⁷ *Act of Incorporation and By-Laws of the Louisiana Historical Association*, 2; *Confederate Veteran*, VI (December, 1898), 547; Minutes of the Louisiana Historical Association, II, 3-8, 89, in the Louisiana Historical Association Papers.

¹⁸ New Orleans *Daily States*, June 18, 1897; Minutes of the Louisiana Historical Association, II, 26; *Confederate Veteran*, VI (December, 1898), 547.

The enthusiasm displayed by Colonel Joseph A. Chalaron in all movements for the improvement of the Association and its museum so impressed the Board of Governors that, at their annual meeting in March, 1898, they elected him Secretary and Treasurer of the Association and Custodian of Memorial Hall. Chalaron made every effort to justify the trust placed in him. Combining a considerable amount of natural ability with a tremendous capacity for work, he made the years subsequent to his election some of the brightest in the history of the Louisiana Historical Association. A great aid to Chalaron in his valuable work was Louisiana's new constitution, adopted in May, 1898, which provided that "The General Assembly shall appropriate not less than twelve hundred dollars per annum for the maintenance in New Orleans of a Memorial Hall or repository for the collection and preservation of relics and mementoes of the late Civil War, and of other objects of interest." With this guaranteed annual income at his disposal, Chalaron was able to devote his undivided attention to the activities of the Association.¹⁹

Working closely with President Palfrey, Colonel Chalaron improved the museum collection. Long lists attest to the many historical items which came into the Association's possession when he was Custodian. Especially noteworthy were large additions to the Davis Collection, which made the Louisiana Historical Association's collection of such items far superior to any other in existence. Another acquisition of considerable interest was the "Lady Slocomb," an eight inch Columbiad used by the Fifth Company Washington Artillery during the defense of the Confederate fortifications at Mobile, which was placed in front of Memorial Hall during the summer of 1899. This large gun attracted much attention and proved quite helpful in drawing increased crowds into the Hall.²⁰

The turn of the century found the Louisiana Historical

¹⁹ Minutes of the Louisiana Historical Association, II, 30, 46; Benjamin W. Dart, *Constitutions of the State of Louisiana and Selected Federal Laws* (Indianapolis, 1932), 655.

²⁰ Custodian's Report, July 5, 1899, copy in the Louisiana Historical Association Papers; Minutes of the Louisiana Historical Association, II, 61-62, 72.

Association's museum at its height. Its historical collection had reached such proportions that it was estimated to contain over 8,000 articles. Through Colonel Chalaron's efforts, the exhibits were kept in splendid shape; and an average of better than 10,000 visitors viewed them annually. In addition to Confederate veterans' organizations, local units of the Sons and Daughters of the Confederacy met regularly in Memorial Hall and aided in maintaining public interest in the collection.

The Louisiana Historical Association's museum proved such an outstanding success during this period that it completely dominated the imagination of the officers; and, as a result, other important aspects of the organization's work were largely ignored. This was especially true of the general membership, which had been neglected for some years. By the end of President Palfrey's administration in 1901, "a marked decrease" in the roll of members was very much in evidence. The matter caused some concern at the time, but mainly because the museum's revenue from this source had decreased. When other means were found for replacing this lost source of income, no serious attempt was made to revive the declining membership, and, in a short time, the rolls of the Association dwindled to the twenty-five members of the Board of Governors.²¹

On the death of Colonel Palfrey in 1901, another prominent Confederate veteran, Captain George A. Williams, succeeded to the presidency of the Louisiana Historical Association. During Williams' eight-year administration, the museum continued to prosper and the large annual flow of visitors through Memorial Hall occasionally exceeded 20,000 persons. In 1909 President Williams retired from office and was succeeded by Colonel Benjamin F. Eshleman, famed Civil War commander of the Washington Artillery. A few months after his election Colonel Eshleman died and within days the Association suffered another serious loss in the death

²¹ *Confederate Memorial Hall of the Louisiana Historical Association* (n.p., n.d.), 5; Minutes of the Louisiana Historical Association, II, 72-73, 79, 83-84, 95, 104.

of its dynamic Secretary and Treasurer, Colonel Joseph A. Chalaron.

At the next annual meeting, held in March, 1910, Lewis Guion was elected President. Early in his administration President Guion entertained hopes of improving the facilities of the Association by adding a story to Memorial Hall. He proposed to accomplish this by making a further appeal to the generosity of the Association's patron, Frank T. Howard; but Mr. Howard's untimely death in 1911 ended any hopes which Guion had in this regard. In making his will, however, Mr. Howard had not forgotten the Association; and thus the treasury received \$5,000 from his estate to be used for the improvement of Memorial Hall. Since this sum was inadequate for enlarging the building, it was invested in 5% City of New Orleans Public Improvement Bonds, the interest of which was to be used by the Association.²²

The deaths of Chalaron and Howard mark the close of the Louisiana Historical Association's brilliant first years. From this period until the mid-Twentieth Century the story of the Association is one of gradual decline. At first this decline was imperceptible and a succession of prominent citizens to the presidency tended to distract attention from the obvious fact that the Association was ceasing to progress.²³ Despite the fact that the museum collection in Memorial Hall continued to be kept in good condition, a study of the minute book covering the early twenties indicates lack of progressive thinking on the part of the Board of Governors and a considerable number of Board meetings which had to be postponed because of lack of quorum. Neglect of the general membership had restricted the members of the Louisiana Historical

²² *Ibid.*, II, 79, 81, 165, 185, 189, 191; III, 16, 33, 63, 66, 68, 70, 74.

²³ Lewis Guion retired from office in 1914 and was succeeded by George A. Williams, who retired in 1915. The next President was Captain E. M. Hudson, formerly of the Confederate Diplomatic Corps. Hudson died in 1916 and was succeeded by Joseph A. Breaux, Ex-Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Louisiana, who served until his death in 1926. His successor was Major General William J. Behan, former Mayor of New Orleans, who died in 1928, whereupon Dr. E. S. Lewis became President. Dr. Lewis held the office until his death in 1935. (Minutes of the Louisiana Historical Association, III, 124, 156, 190, 198, 200; IV, 98, 150, 152, 161-162.)

Association mainly to a relatively small number of Confederate veterans. While these men were active, little need had been felt for enlarging the rolls of the organization, but now, as they became infirm with age, there was no younger membership to take up their work.²⁴

As the years progressed the Board became increasingly conscious of "the inevitable early end" of the Louisiana Historical Association as a body of Confederate veterans; and much thought was given to the future of the Association's valuable museum and archives. By the late twenties the Howard Memorial Library's holdings had grown to such proportions that there was dire need for additional space in which to expand the library facilities; and members of the board of that institution, viewing Memorial Hall as an easy answer to their problem, began to cast doubt upon the legality of the Historical Association's title to the building. The matter dragged on for several years; but early in 1931, efforts were made to induce the Louisiana Historical Association to vacate Memorial Hall and move its collection into the quarters of the Upper Pontalba Cultural Museum Committee on Jackson Square. When this failed, and representatives of the Howard Memorial Library intimated that the Association might be forced to vacate the premises, Captain James Dinkins, an elderly Confederate veteran on the Board of Governors, vowed that he would fight the move "as long as there was animation in his body" and promised to use "every particle of force or influence which he possessed to oppose such an action." The irate captain then enlisted the aid of Governor Huey P. Long. Within days the Governor appointed Richard W. Leche as his special representative in the matter. Leche soon succeeded in working out a compromise, whereby the Louisiana Historical Association granted use of the basement of Memorial Hall to the Howard Library, in return for a promise that the Association would not be disturbed in its use of the remainder of the building. The speedy action of Leche restored calm and the Association soon returned to

²⁴ Minutes of the Louisiana Historical Association, IV, 42 ff.

that state of complacent inertia which had come to characterize it.²⁵

In 1936 Major General Allison Owen, son of Colonel William Miller Owen and former commanding officer of the Washington Artillery, was elected President. During his administration the few remaining Confederate veterans in the Association passed away; and the Board of Governors dwindled to fifteen members, representing the Association of the Army of Tennessee, the Battalion of Washington Artillery, and the trustees of the Howard Memorial Library Association—those three of the original five organizations which had made provision for a self-perpetuating membership. Although the Louisiana Historical Association was now but a sad remembrance of its former self, it was largely through the efforts of General Owen that the organization was able to survive at all. This state of affairs continued for several years. The annual appropriation from the State of Louisiana made it possible to manage Memorial Hall with a reasonable degree of efficiency, but little could be done to improve the exhibits or modernize the facilities. General Owen entertained hopes of improving the situation, but numerous other commitments and lack of enthusiasm on the part of the Board frustrated most of his efforts.²⁶

General Owen died in January, 1951.²⁷ Shortly before his death, attempts were made to bring new life into the Association by enlarging the Board of Governors to include representatives of the Sons and Daughters of the Confederacy. These efforts came to naught, however, when those charged with the responsibility of amending the Association's Charter to include this change failed to fulfill the duty assigned to them. Affairs dragged on in an unsettled state until December, 1956, when the author of this article was elected Presi-

²⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 161, 174-179, 181, 185.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, 192-193, 195, 197, 208, 211.

²⁷ Owen was succeeded in the presidency by Colonel Henry B. Curtis, who held office from March, 1951, until October, 1952. The next President was Edward A. Fowler, who resigned in December, 1956. (Minutes of the Louisiana Historical Association, March 26, 1951, October 6, 1952, December 19, 1956.)

dent and resolved to rejuvenate the Association and modernize the museum.

While steps were being taken to accomplish these objectives, he was appraised of the fact that Edwin A. Davis, Head of the History Department of Louisiana State University, had called a meeting of professional historians and other interested persons to organize a new, active, state-wide historical society. This meeting was scheduled to assemble at Louisiana College in Pineville on March 29, 1958. Feeling that here was a splendid opportunity for assuring the future of the Louisiana Historical Association, the writer phoned Davis and suggested that a new society might not be necessary, if those attending his proposed meeting would agree to join the Louisiana Historical Association; reorganize it; and make it a really active and worthwhile historical society for the entire state. Davis expressed great interest in this suggestion and invited the author to repeat it at the Pineville meeting. This was done, with the result that those present at this meeting accepted his invitation to join the Louisiana Historical Association; and soon the names of over thirty-five new members were added to the rolls of the organization.²⁸

Steps were immediately taken to completely revise the antiquated charter of the Association. On June 6, 1958, a general meeting of the organization was held at Memorial Hall and appropriate amendments to the charter were adopted. By this act the Louisiana Historical Association was reorganized and a new slate of officers took command. Edwin A. Davis became President; Kenneth Trist Urquhart, Vice-President; and John C. L. Andreassen, Secretary and Treasurer.

The first activity of the newly reorganized Historical Association was to inaugurate an intensive campaign to enlist new members throughout the entire state. To this end, a booklet, entitled: *An Invitation to Join the Louisiana His-*

²⁸ Allison Owen to Edward A. Fowler, August 21, December 12, 1950, in the Louisiana Historical Association Papers; Minutes of the Louisiana Historical Association, May 21, September 17, 1951, December 19, 1956; "Minutes of Meeting for Organization of Louisiana Historical Association," March 29, 1958; *An Invitation to Join the Louisiana Historical Association* (New Orleans, 1958), 5-6.

torical Association, was published in July, 1958. This publication was distributed freely to prospective members throughout the state and soon a steady stream of applications began to arrive in the office of the Secretary. To date the activities of the reorganized group have proved highly successful. With the great interest and enthusiasm that is being displayed by the officers and members, there seems little doubt that the Louisiana Historical Association can look forward to a bright and active future.²⁹

²⁹ *An Invitation to Join the Louisiana Historical Association* (New Orleans, 1958), 6-7, 23-25.



Fig. 1—Memorial Hall, Museum of the Louisiana Historical Association in New Orleans, Louisiana.

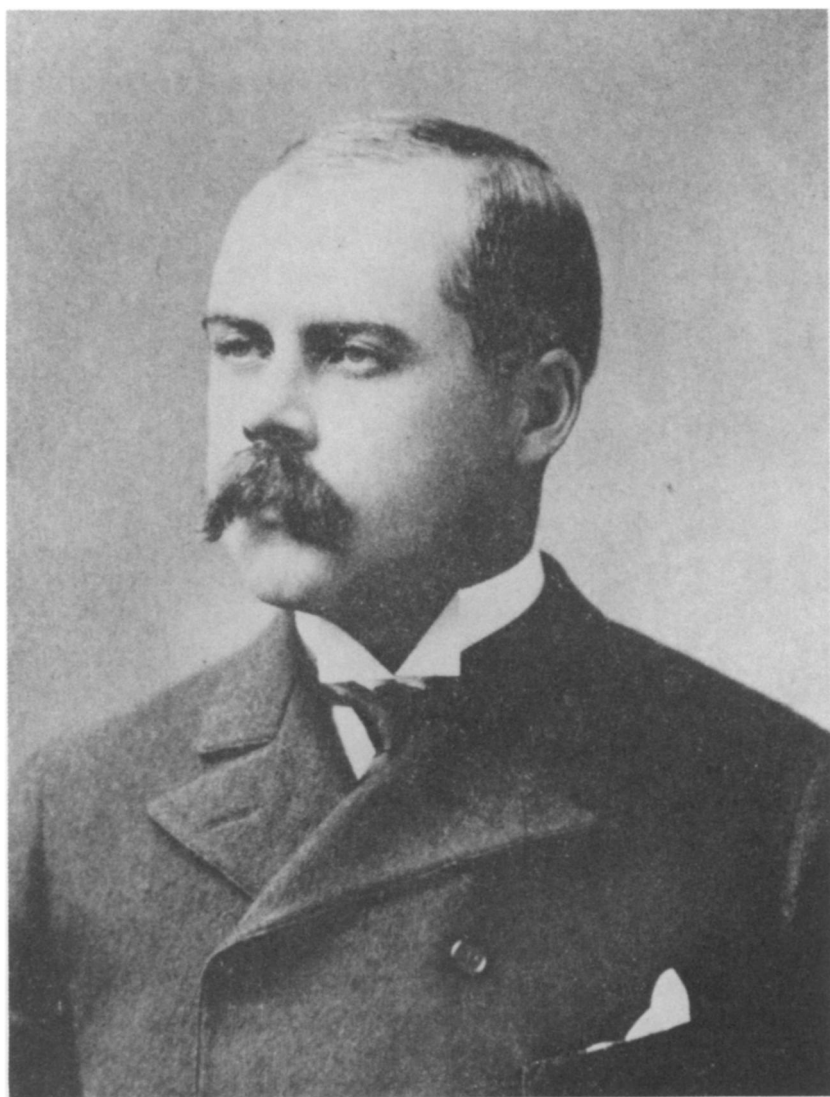


Fig. 2—FRANK T. HOWARD
Patron and First President of the Louisiana
Historical Association.

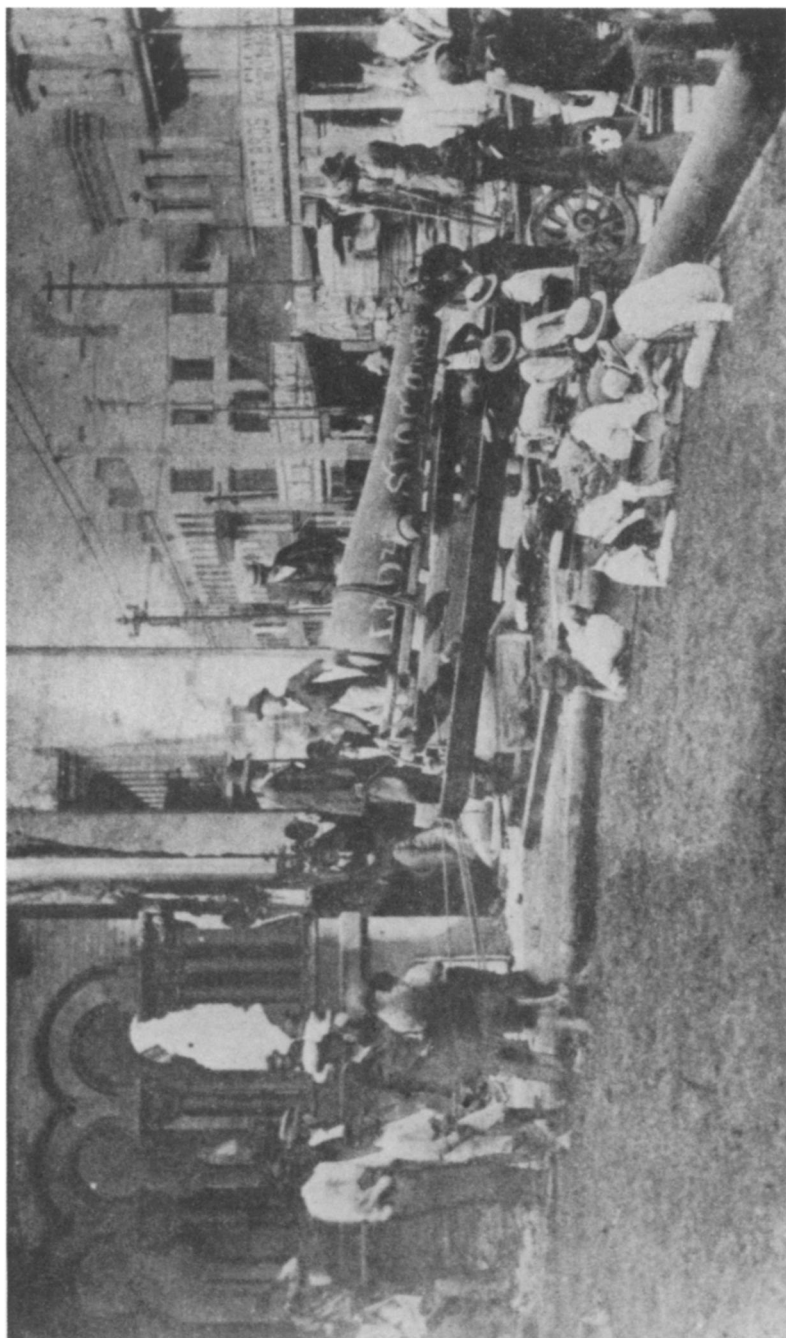


Fig. 3.—Placing the “Lady Slocomb” in Front of Memorial Hall in 1899.



Fig. 4—Map.



Fig. 5—French Oven, Cut Off, Louisiana (1950) .

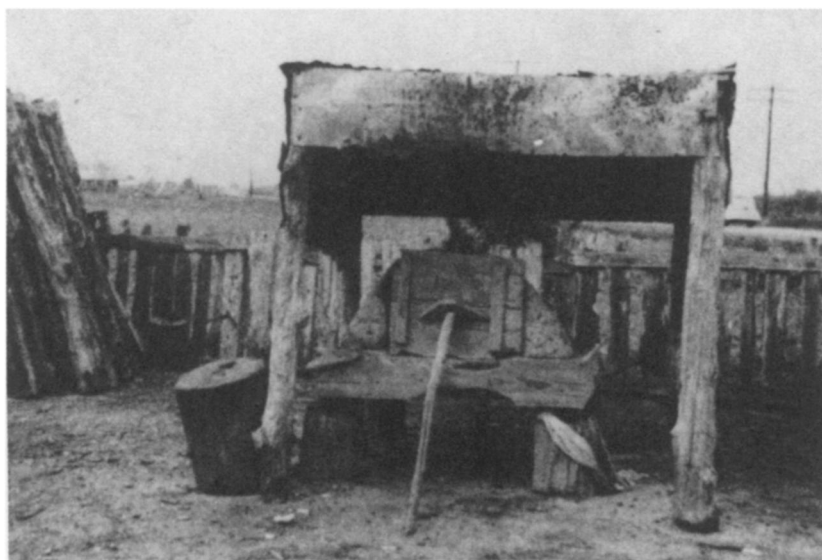


Fig. 6—Italian Oven, Independence, Louisiana (1950) .



Fig. 7—Spanish Oven, Michoacan, Mexico (1947)
(Courtesy R. C. West).

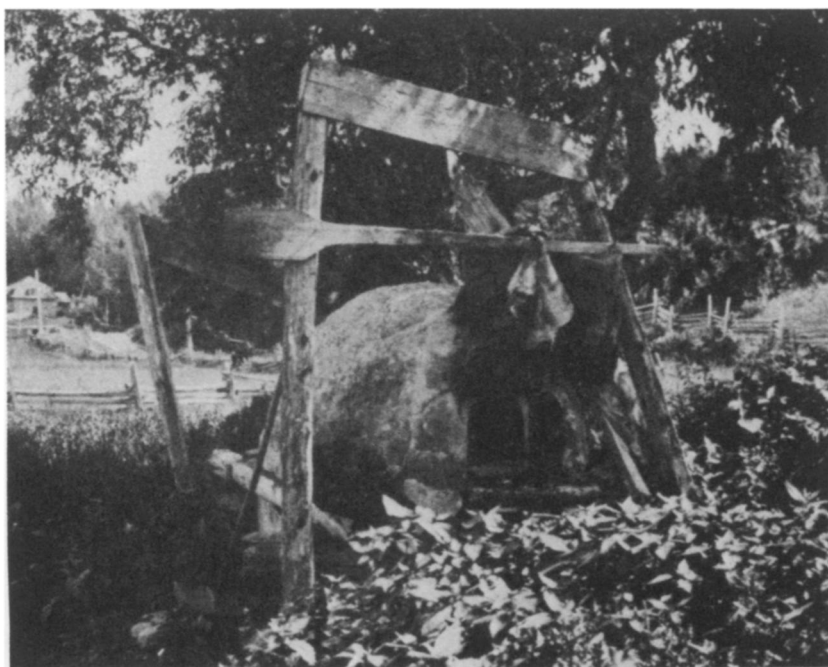


Fig. 8—French Oven, Quebec (ca. 1908). Note framework of roof covering, also pans, wooden hoe, and paddle. (Reproduced by permission of Keystone View Co.).



Fig. 9—Oven in Roman Gaul. (Reproduced from W. M. West's *The Story of Modern Progress*, 27, by permission of Allyn and Bacon, Inc.).

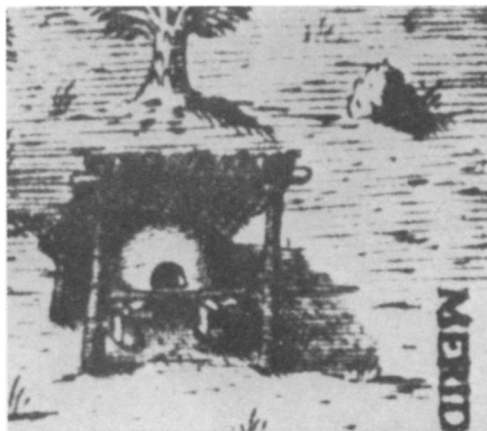


Fig. 10—French Oven at Fort Caroline, Florida (1562-1565). Compare Figure 7 with Figures 5 and 8, French ovens of Quebec and Louisiana, respectively. (Reproduced from LeMoynes picture by permission of The Clements Library, University of Michigan).



Fig. 11—French Oven, Slidell, Louisiana (1950) .



Fig. 12—Hungarian oven, Albany, Louisiana (1950) .

*The Outdoor Oven in Louisiana**

By FRED KNIFFEN

holds the Ph.D. degree from the University of California and is head of the Department of Geography and Anthropology at Louisiana State University.

INTRODUCTION

THE OUTDOOR OVEN is one element in the material complex that characterizes parts of rural south Louisiana. Since this country oven (*four de campagne*) appears doomed to early extinction, it was judged timely to observe it fully while the tradition of its building and use is still faintly alive. There seemed a possibility that knowledge of the oven might throw some light on two important questions regarding the cultural composition and culture history of French Louisiana: In what degree is the area culturally uniform? To what extent is the culture really French rather than a New World borrowing or innovation?

French Louisiana is usually distinguished from Anglo-Saxon Louisiana on the basis of language or religion (Fig. 4). It is commonly taken for granted that the area so delimited is uniform in other cultural respects; the evidence suggests that there are fundamental cleavages. Secondly, it has been found unsafe to assume that material traits characteristic of French Louisiana necessarily originated in France. For example, the *tarabi*, a device used to spin both horsehair

* Incidental to larger objectives, a general cultural survey of the state financed by the office of Naval Research provided information concerning the distribution of the outdoor oven. A questionnaire circulated among its agents by the Agricultural Extension Service contributed to the same end. The assistance of these agencies and of numerous individuals is gratefully acknowledged.

and Spanish moss, was discovered to be of Spanish origin and to center in distribution on western or prairie French Louisiana.¹ The practice of thatching houses with the native palmetto, once common in south Louisiana, is most certainly a borrowing from the local Indians.

FIREPLACE AND OUTDOOR OVEN

In addition to people of French descent, south Louisiana has considerable groups of Italians, Mexicans, and Hungarians, and lesser numbers of other national origin, all of whom have the outdoor oven as part of their cultural heritage. This fact introduces moderate complications. On the other hand, it was possible to eliminate Anglo-Saxon Louisiana from consideration early in the study since every report from northern parishes unequivocally denied any knowledge of an outdoor oven (Fig. 4).

The outdoor oven extends in time back to the Old World Paleolithic. Several centuries before Christ every courtyard in Chaldea had its oven for baking the family bread.² From the Near East the oven spread over most of Europe. However, it has never been prominent in the continent's northwestern periphery and is hardly known in north Scandinavia and Ireland. Here oat bread baked on flat pans or stones remains dominant.³

Clay was the older material of oven construction; stone and brick are younger. The ground plan ranges from round, through oval, to rectangular; walls and top are domed or arched. While there is marked areal segregation of the several forms, there is also some coincidence of round and rectangular ovens. It is noteworthy that except for southern Sweden the round oven generally stands alone;⁴ the corollary seems generally true, that rectangular ovens are built in some manner into the house.

¹ Fred Kniffen, "A Spanish Spinner in Louisiana," *Southern Folklore Quarterly*, XIII (Dec., 1949), 192-199, *passim*.

² *Encyclopedia Britannica* (14th ed., New York, 1929), IV, 63.

³ Sigurd Erixon, "West European Connections and Culture Relations," *Folk-Liv*, II (1938), 153.

⁴ Sigurd Erixon, "Öfen mit Rundem Grundriss," *Folk-Liv*, III (1939), 265.

In Anglo-America the outdoor oven has been restricted largely to compact non-British groups,⁵ among them Spanish, Italian, French, German, Hungarian, and certainly others. Early Anglo-American baking involved the fireplace, a medieval and subsequent development of central western Europe.⁶ The gable-end fireplace was thoroughly in the tradition of the British migrants to America,⁷ though the external protuberance of both hearth and chimney appears to be a New World colonial development.

Anglo-American bread baking was a function of the hearth,⁸ be it rectangular oven built next the fireplace or, more commonly, some other device utilizing the open fire. There was the so-called tin or Dutch kitchen (confusingly called Dutch oven), a movable container of variable form with open side facing the fireplace, a device akin to the reflector baker familiar to campers. There was also the true Dutch oven or bake kettle, a cast-iron pot with rimmed lid of the same material. There were sundry simple methods, such as propping a board containing light-bread dough before the open fire.⁹

⁵ However, the oven was known in early colonial days in Anglo-American settlements, as attested by the restored family-size fire-clay oven in the Jamestown Museum [Worth Bailey, "A Jamestown Baking Oven of the Seventeenth Century," *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* (2nd series), XVII (Oct., 1937), 497] and by Sidney King's conjectural painting of James Fort. The painting shows an oven outside the palisaded walls. The oven is known for New England and Maritime Canada, in the former well into the 19th century ["A Canadian Bakery," *National Geographic Magazine*, XIX (March, 1908), 173] and to the present in the latter. Propinquity would suggest a French Canadian origin for these ovens. However, Eric Sloane says that outdoor ovens in New England are comparatively recent and might well have come from "Dutch" Pennsylvania along with barns and other outbuildings.

⁶ Sigurd Erixon, "West European Connections and Culture Relations," 166.

⁷ E. E. Evans, *Irish Heritage* (Dundalk, Northern Ireland, 1943), 56, 59, 64.

⁸ Walter Hough, *Fire as an Agent in Human Culture* (Smithsonian Institute, Bulletin 139. Washington, 1926), 40, refers to a bake house separate from the dwelling. Its range of distribution and ethnic association are not given.

⁹ Carl W. Drepperd, *Pioneer America* (Garden City, 1948), 25-36; Hezekiah Butterworth, *In Old New England; the Romance of a Colonial Fireside* (New York, 1895), *passim*; Leo A. Borah, "Connecticut, Prodigy of Ingenuity," *National Geographic Magazine*, LXII (Sept., 1938), 279-325; Horace Kephart, *Our Southern Highlanders* (New York, 1913), *passim*; Lucy Lacrom, "How Dear to My Heart," in Barrows Mussey (ed.), *Yankee Life by Those Who Lived It* (New York, 1947), 40-46; Vance Randolph, *The Ozarks; An American Survival of Primitive Society* (New York, 1931), 26-27; Benjamin Butterworth, "The Growth of Industrial Art," *House Miscellaneous Documents* No. 121, 52 Cong., 2 sess., 105.

The whole complex of Anglo-American bread making was truly differentiated from any European antecedents when it added corn bread, moderately in the North and, almost to the exclusion of others, in parts of the South where wheat could not be raised nor wheat flour readily obtained. The outdoor oven, on the other hand, seems nowhere in the New World to have had other than a primary association with wheat bread. This affinity holds not only for French Canada, but also for Mexico and the Pueblo Indians of the American Southwest. In Mexico and the Southwest, European oven and wheat bread had to overcome a native prejudice in order to be accepted along with aboriginal maize foods.

The use of the outdoor oven for baking wheat bread follows an unbroken sequence from 16th-century France to 20th-century south Louisiana. Wheat was a major import from France to the 18th-century Louisiana settlements; it was one of the earliest and steadiest from the Illinois country. In 1818, William Darby pointed out that while wheat might be cultivated in Louisiana, flour was so readily imported that it was more profitable to raise crops bringing greater returns.¹⁰ Wrong as Darby was about the possibility of growing wheat in Louisiana,¹¹ imported flour was abundant and cheap.

THE FRENCH OVEN

The form of the French oven seems likewise to have maintained a common heritage from oldest to most recent times. The oven, common to Canada and Louisiana and apparently represented in modern France, may be described as oval or pear shaped in ground plan and arched or domed above (Fig. 5). This particularly describes the oven of earth construction. Ovens of brick or stone, sparingly represented in French portions of the New World, tend to be rectangular in exterior ground plan and arched above (Fig. 12). Despite such variants there is a readily distinguishable form difference as among the various ethnic groups. Distinction be-

¹⁰ William Darby, *The Emigrant's Guide* (New York, 1818), 11.

¹¹ Louisiana's agricultural history is replete with attempts to raise wheat. A combination of heat, humidity, and mildew has been an apparently insurmountable barrier to continuous commercial production.

tween oval French (Fig. 5) and beehive-shaped Italian (Fig. 6) ovens in Louisiana is obvious, and neither would be confused with the dome-form oven of Spanish America (Fig. 7).

While the ovens employed today in France are apparently related to the Louisiana and Quebec French ovens, the latter two are certainly of a more primitive type. In addition, the two New World French ovens are seemingly identical, not only in form, but also in the common employment of a wooden covering (Figs. 5, 8, 11) and in the nature of the special implements involved in their use (Fig. 8). The close genetic relationship of the American French ovens of today with the oven of France is demonstrated beyond doubt by a fortunately preserved drawing of an oven of Roman Gaul (Fig. 9) and by a sketch of the Huguenot settlement of Fort Caroline, Florida, 1562-1565. In every comparable respect the oven shown at Fort Caroline (Fig. 10) is similar to one in use in Louisiana in 1953 (Fig. 11). Apparently the Louisiana and Quebec ovens have changed little since their introduction from France some two and a half centuries ago.

BUILDING THE OVEN

The building of the French oven in Louisiana reveals clever adaptation to available materials. In a land where native stone is non-existent and brick often scarce and expensive, local clays and Spanish moss are joined in effective combination to construct ovens capable of intensive use for ten to fifteen years. Following is a description of the building of French ovens in Louisiana, a composite of several accounts, related in the present tense, though actually the art is little practiced at present.

Some ovens are set directly on the ground, but most are constructed on wooden platforms standing some two to three feet high, supported by four heavy wooden posts (Figs. 5, 11). The plank floor is rimmed about the edge, then covered with several inches of compact earth. A form is built on the platform, consisting generally of a half (split lengthwise)

or whole barrel placed on its side and braced internally to support a heavy load. If a whole barrel is used, small boards are leaned against the sides to extend the maximum diameter down to the platform. If no barrel is available, dry poles of the proper length are piled in a manner to simulate one. The form is completed by adding a bowed iron strap over the front to outline the door and a tin can or cup at the rear to preserve a smoke-hole opening.

The preparation of the building material involves the immersion of loose, thick ropes composed of crudely carded strands of cured Spanish moss in a stiff clay-water mixture. When judged to be of proper consistency, the stringy mud is plastered over the form to a thickness of some six inches. After the clay dries for two or three days, the internal wooden form is ignited and encouraged to a roaring blaze that continues for the better part of a day. The fitting of a wooden door to the opening left for the purpose completes the construction of the oven. Most ovens are covered, generally with a shed type wooden roof, the primary purpose of which is to preserve the clay structure from damage by torrential rains.

While the practices described above are most common, the same general result is attained by some variation in method. If brick are available, they may form the base of the oven, overlying the earth-mantled planks of the platform. The form over which the oven is to be built may consist of a carefully molded heap of earth; this mode of construction necessitates a broad board to preserve a straight front where the door is to be and a brick inserted into the rear of the pile to insure a smoke hole. Brick are sometimes used to build the oven over the mold thus constructed, though there are those who insist that clay ovens last longer.

The earth mold is most commonly covered with the clay-moss mixture previously described. Making the plaster has developed into a near art, where experienced judgment is necessary to determine the proper proportions of moss, clay, and water to be mixed with hoe and bare feet in pit or tub. An extra expenditure of labor is involved in accumulating earth for the mold and in scraping it out of the completed

clay or brick shell. However, the smoother inside finish is considered sufficient recompense over the "lazy-man's" method of building over a barrel.

BAKING

Irrespective of method and materials, the finished ovens vary little in form, though they do differ considerably in size, with capacity ranging from three or four loaves to ten or even more. The actual use of the ovens in baking bread seems everywhere in Louisiana to follow the same procedure. The oven is heated with any "non-fat" wood for fifteen or twenty minutes, during which both door and smoke hole are left open. Then fire and ashes are raked out with a large-bladed wooden hoe made especially for the purpose (Fig. 8).

The temperature of the oven is ascertained by tossing in a pinch of wheat flour or a piece of paper. If flour or paper brown, but do not burn, the temperature is deemed right for baking. If too hot, as indicated by the burning of flour or paper, a wet mop is swished around inside the oven until further testing indicates a proper temperature. Then the smoke hole is plugged with damp rags and the dome-shaped or rectangular loaves of yeast dough are placed directly or in greased black pans on the oven floor by means of a thin-bladed cypress paddle at least five feet long (Fig. 8). Next, the wooden door, backed by a damp rag or sack, is set into place. After a period of from a half hour to an hour and a half the baked loaves (now *pain chaud*) are removed with the paddle and the oven is permitted to cool against another baking day.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE OVEN IN FRENCH LOUISIANA

With respect to this one item, the oven yields an affirmative answer to the question posed in the first paragraph regarding the French origin of Louisiana French culture. That is, the Louisiana oven is unquestionably derived from the oven of France. The question as to the uniformity of Louisiana French culture is quite a different matter. Examination of the map (Fig. 4) reveals immediately that the area

commonly considered French Louisiana does not agree with the distribution of the French oven in the state. At the east the two coincide approximately; at the west the oven stops short of the prairies, still very much part of French Louisiana.

This cultural difference was difficult to account for, since the French population of the prairies came from the eastern section of Louisiana and the migration took place while primitive methods of cooking prevailed. Further, the cleavage is not clearly one between long-established groups such as Creole and Acadian. The answer emerged only when a striking distinction in food habits as between eastern and western Louisiana was examined as to cause and effect.

In eastern French Louisiana, now and in the past, wheat has been the breadstuff almost to the complete exclusion of maize. The pattern is distinctive in the general non-use of hot breads, such as wheat-flour biscuits. In prairie French Louisiana, on the other hand, corn meal is or has been the primary breadstuff. Corn bread appears to be but one element of an alien complex borrowed early in the 19th century from Anglo-American neighbors at the north. Among other elements are the Dutch oven, the exterior clay chimney and fireplace, the log barn, and perhaps the wooden mortar and pestle. The prairie French adopted enthusiastically and even added to the sum of maize dishes.¹²

This divergence of the prairie French from their eastern kinsmen seems to have been conditioned by economics and geography. The western Louisiana French led a largely subsistence existence, forced in part by the expense and difficulty of transporting bulk commodities like wheat flour across the prairie terrain from the distant waterways. They could grow maize but not wheat; in the absence of wheat the oven was abandoned. The acceptance of corn meal and the com-

¹² Possibly among their contributions is *couche-couche*, described by William A. Read, *Louisiana French* (University Studies V, Baton Rouge, 1931), 122, as "corn-meal dough sweetened and fried brown; served with milk or eaten at breakfast with coffee." With minor variations, *couche-couche* reached eastward to the Mississippi at some points, but seems generally not to have been known east of the river, even where isolated French groups adopted corn bread.

plexity of its preparation and cooking was accompanied by the adoption of the Dutch oven from the Anglo-Americans.

DECLINE OF THE OVEN

Within its area of use, the outdoor oven was once a feature of every household, set generally somewhat removed to the rear of the dwelling. Baking was then a family and not a community affair. Where economic specialization developed, as it did early in urban centers, the family oven disappeared. Descriptions of New Orleans of a century ago make no mention of it.¹³ Additionally, the pretentious homes of plantation owners had special provisions for cooking that did not include the outdoor oven. The plantation kitchen of the 1850's, even within French Louisiana, was a separate brick structure containing a great open fireplace equipped with spits, drip pans, and Dutch ovens.¹⁴ Thus a century ago the French outdoor oven was primarily an attribute of the *petit habitant*, living in solid rural groups at points readily served by water transportation bringing imported flour.¹⁵ The rural rather than urban association is implicit in the name, country oven or *four (de) campagne*.¹⁶

Despite the inroads made by professional bakeries, good roads, and inside stoves equipped with ovens, the outdoor French oven was fairly common until World War II. While war-time conditions did not in themselves necessarily contribute to the demise of the *petit four*,¹⁷ or small family oven, the event certainly accelerated technical changes that were incipient or underway and is a convenient dating point for

¹³ Lyle Saxon, *Fabulous New Orleans* (New York, 1928), *passim*.

¹⁴ Beryl Dyson Hatfield, "Fish Cookery in South Louisiana," (unpublished Master's thesis, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, 1933), 14.

¹⁵ Even within the general area of its use, the oven seems to have been restricted to the sedentary farmer and not employed by the semi-nomadic swamp and marsh hunter and fisherman.

¹⁶ Though quite naturally referred to as simply *fourneau* or some similar name by its country-dwelling users.

¹⁷ *Petit* is appropriate only as the family oven is contrasted to the much larger commercial oven. By the users the family oven might be referred to as *grand four*, as it certainly was in comparison with smaller interior baking devices.

the rapid decline of the oven. In 1959 there is no certain instance of a French oven regularly in use.¹⁸

Conservatism in French Louisiana as expressed by the retention of the oven seems to be a product of compact, similar-thinking groups living in comparative isolation. The isolation is largely physical, related to transportation and proximity to urban centers, but in one instance it is social. Here old Louisiana French folkways and language are preserved by a group removed from surrounding peoples by reason of Negro blood.

Strangely, the Italian oven, introduced by Sicilians and south Italians arriving in numbers at the close of the 19th century, exhibits greater survival value than the French oven, although showing the same general distribution. The Italian oven was abundant even in metropolitan New Orleans as late as the 1930's and remains fairly widespread in the 1950's, sometimes in communities where individuals of Italian origin or descent are relatively few. Recency of migration is likely among the factors accounting for the survival. The same remarks apply in a general way to a rural colony of Hungarians.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The south Louisiana French oven is a primitive form of the oven of France and is fundamentally the same as the Quebec oven.

In Louisiana the oven was restricted to the eastern portion of the French section of the state, where wheat flour was always readily available.

The prairie French adopted the corn-bread complex of Anglo-America. Although wheat as a breadstuff has been

¹⁸ To show how short-lived memory is, emphatic denial of knowledge of the oven was encountered where it was certainly present fifteen years ago. Students concerned with things preserved only by oral tradition are familiar with an age grading of memory whereby the older people remember a trait now gone, whereas the younger ones do not remember it but many deny that it ever existed. As the older people die, the memory of the trait may be gone. This process of group forgetting frequently makes it difficult to reconstruct the original distribution of a fading practice that leaves neither material remains nor documentary record.

widely re-established within the last half-century, it has utilized the modern iron range rather than the outdoor oven.

Cultural conservatism, as illustrated by the retention of the oven, appears to be a product of compact groups of *petits habitants* living in physical or social isolation.

Finally, the distribution of the oven in Louisiana is such as to confirm a cultural cleavage between eastern and prairie French, suggested in a previous study by the distribution of the *tarabi* spinner.

*The Foreign Slave Trade in Louisiana After 1808**

By JOE G. TAYLOR

received the Ph.D. degree from Louisiana State University and is presently associate professor of social sciences, Francis T. Nicholls State College.

AN ACCOUNT OF illegal or conspiratorial activities is a great temptation to the historian. American history affords many examples—the Spanish Conspiracy, the Burr Conspiracy, and Murrell's alleged plan for a slave uprising along the Mississippi, to name a few. Because conspirators and outlaws do not ordinarily leave documents giving their plans and detailing their activities, the historian must reach his conclusions from rather slender strands of evidence; in the absence of extensive documentation, there is little to restrain his imagination. Two men can reach radically different conclusions from the same bits of evidence.

Slave smuggling is no exception. Probably the lowest estimate of the extent of American slave smuggling was that of William Lowndes Yancey, who asserted that not more than 500 Negroes had been smuggled into the United States after 1808.¹ W. E. B. Dubois, on the other hand, estimated that 270,000 Negroes were illegally introduced into the United States between 1808 and 1860.² This paper does not pretend to referee between Yancey and Dubois, though it is no doubt

* A paper read at the Louisiana Historical Association convention at Alexandria, March 20, 1959.

¹ Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln*, II (New York, 1950), 35.

² W. E. Burghardt Dubois, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870* (*Harvard Historical Studies*, I. New York, 1904), 112-130.

the historian's prerogative to say that the one estimate is far too low, the other almost certainly too high. Rather this paper will attempt to set forth what is known about the importation and attempted importation of foreign Negroes into the single state of Louisiana after 1808.

One of the first acts of the United States in administering the territory acquired from France by the Louisiana Purchase was a prohibition of the foreign slave trade. The inhabitants of Louisiana believed that this meant their ruin, and expressions of discontent were widespread. An American in the territory at the time stated their case. Cutting off imports of slaves, he said, meant economic disaster. The action would render

The plantations of little or no value, as Sugar, Cotton, Rice or Indigo cannot be cultivated to any extent, nor raised in large quantities, without employing a number of hands, nor the levee . . . kept in repair: and that the heat of the climate and the marshiness of the country which for the most part is mere swamp is unfriendly to the laboring class of white men.³

The prohibition of the foreign slave trade to the Territory of Orleans was not rescinded, and in 1808, at the end of the twenty-year period prescribed by the Constitution, the prohibition became nation-wide. In due time the interstate slave trade provided an adequate supply of Negroes for the Louisiana market but that was in the future. The discontent of the people of Louisiana with the prohibition of the foreign slave trade, combined with normal frontier lawlessness, doubtless encouraged the people of Louisiana to look benevolently upon slave smugglers. Indeed, there are those who maintain that Louisiana is in general inclined to look somewhat benevolently upon defiance of the law,⁴ but it is probable that the impossibility of policing the Gulf coast of Louisiana had more bearing on slave smuggling.

³ Hatch Dent to James H. McCulloch, July 14, 1804: Clarence Edwin Carter, ed., *The Territory of Orleans, 1803-1812* (Clarence Edwin Carter, ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, IX. Washington, 1940), 265-266. See also pp. 261, 263, 285, 305, 315, 320.

⁴ Francis Butler Simkins, *A History of the South* (New York, 1956), 320.

In all likelihood the pirates on the Gulf of Mexico below New Orleans always dealt in black gold as well as more ordinary treasures, but early references to slave smuggling identify it with Galveston Island rather than Barataria Bay. The Mexican Revolution of 1808 afforded privateers an opportunity to use Galveston as a base for raids on Spanish shipping and Negroes taken in these raids found their way into Louisiana, some being landed secretly along Bayou Lafourche, others being driven overland to Alexandria. Already a price of one dollar per pound was standard at Galveston.⁵ Some trade was more direct; on April 14, 1808, two American ships cleared Havana for New Orleans, carrying ninety-eight Negroes, forty-three of whom had recently arrived in Cuba from Africa.⁶

After 1810 Laffite's pirates, who may have been identical with the privateers of the Mexican Revolution, are noted as the chief source of smuggled Negroes. A German merchant in business in New Orleans stated that in 1813 slaves bought from the pirates for less than \$200 sold in the city for \$600 or more. That this trade had considerable volume is indicated by the merchant's complaint that the pirate's refusal to accept anything other than specie created a dearth of hard money in New Orleans.⁷ Prices advanced with the boom that followed the War of 1812. In 1818 a slave buyer reported that "Fresh imported Guinea negroes were lately sold in NOrleans at \$1500."⁸

Perhaps the most original system of smuggling slaves was that practiced by the three Bowie brothers, including the famous Jim Bowie. Shortly after the War of 1812, Jean Laffite transferred his base to Galveston Island, and there the Bowies went to buy Negroes at the standard rate of one dollar per pound. Under the law, when Negroes smuggled into

⁵ J. D. B. DeBow, "Texas—a Province, Republic, and State," *DeBow's Review*, XXIII (1857), 243.

⁶ D. C. Corbitt, "Shipments of Slaves from the United States to Cuba, 1789-1807," *Journal of Southern History*, VII (1941), 549.

⁷ Vincent Nolte, *Fifty Years in Both Hemispheres, or Reminiscences of the Life of a Former Merchant* (New York, 1854), 189.

⁸ Sam Steer to John Minor, August 3, 1818: Minor (William J. and Family) Papers, Department of Archives, Louisiana State University.

the United States were discovered by government officials, they were sold at auction. Any informer who brought about their discovery was to be rewarded with half the proceeds of the sale. This law was the cornerstone of the Bowie scheme. After bringing a coffle of bewildered Africans across the Sabine River, the Bowies took them to a point near a United States Marshal's station, left them tethered in the woods, and became the informers. The United States Marshal—and one suspects that he connived at this chicanery—then held an auction as the law demanded. At this legal sale in the wilderness the Bowies were the only bidders. They bought the Negroes at a low price, received half that price as the reward for informing on themselves, and, most important of all, got from the marshal a bill of sale which permitted them legally to sell the Negroes anywhere in the United States where slavery was legal. One of the Bowie brothers reported in later years that this had been repeated often enough for the three to clear a profit of \$65,000.⁹

Records proving that actual smuggling of blacks into Louisiana continued after the early 1820's have not been discovered, though rumors of smuggling were common. It is difficult to say whether illegal importation of Negroes ceased or whether smugglers became more circumspect, but it is most unlikely that smuggling persisted on a scale comparable to that in the period from 1804 to 1820. Few, if any, of those Negroes introduced in Louisiana illegally before 1820 were taken from Africa for the purpose of sale into the United States. Rather they were intended for the Spanish sugar islands and came on the American market as a result of the raids of privateers or pirates on Spanish commerce. The end of piracy, and the reduction in privateering as the Spanish-American colonies gradually established their independence, dried up this source of supply. At the same time, the increasing volume of the domestic slave trade largely satisfied the demand for slaves in Louisiana.

On the other hand, the archives of the United States Cus-

⁹ A. R. Kilpatrick, "Early Life in the Southwest—the Bowies," *DeBow's Review*, XIII (1852), 380-381.

toms House in New Orleans show that rumors of smuggling were being investigated throughout the two decades preceding the Civil War.¹⁰ As late as 1860 the British consul at Galveston reported to his government that a Louisiana planter had revealed to him that he was on a trip to Indianola, Texas, "to buy African Negroes."¹¹ There was, of course, a flurry of slave-smuggling in 1860-1861, and there are reliable reports of newly imported Negroes seen at Memphis in 1860 and in Alabama in 1861, but if any such Negroes came to Louisiana, they were well-concealed.¹²

Though the physical importation of African Negroes into Louisiana had come to a halt, or almost so, talk about the foreign slave trade grew in volume as the 1850's drew near their end. In 1858 a committee of the Louisiana Legislature approved a bill which would have permitted citizens of Louisiana to import slaves from Brazil, Cuba, and Africa. This committee's majority report defended the constitutionality of the bill by asserting that the people of Louisiana had never granted to the Federal Government the right to prohibit the foreign slave trade. After the bill had passed the lower house of the legislature, State Senator Edward Deloney of Clinton wrote an article for *DeBow's Review* urging that it be passed by the State Senate. The existing scarcity of Negroes, he said, brought about high prices, and high prices encouraged monopoly, thus intensifying the scarcity. Because of an inadequate labor supply, the South was not producing to full capacity, and this would be corrected by increasing the supply of Negroes. In addition, an influx of Negroes would spread slave ownership more widely among the Southern people, thus providing the institution with greater popular support. Lastly, the increased supply of slaves would make possible the settlement of new territories by slaveholders, thus restoring the South to equality within the union.

¹⁰ Excerpts from the Letter Books of the United States Customs House New Orleans, Louisiana, 1834-1912: Survey of Federal Archives in Louisiana, 1937-1938 (Typescript), *passim*.

¹¹ Laura A. White, "The South in the 1850's as Seen by British Consuls," *Journal of Southern History*, I (1935), 38.

¹² Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln*, II, 35; William Howard Russell, *My Diary North and South* (New York, 1863), 74.

Deloney's arguments failed to convince a majority of the members of the State Senate, and the bill never became law.¹³

Another attempt to reopen the African slave trade was disguised as the "African Apprentice Bill." As reported out of committee, this bill authorized the firm of J. H. Brigham and Associates "to import into the state of Louisiana . . . twenty-five hundred free Africans: *Provided*, they shall be indentured as apprentices . . . for . . . not less than fifteen years."¹⁴ This bill passed the State House of Representatives in 1857, and failed of passage in the Senate by only one vote. Opposition increased before the next meeting of the legislature. Newspapers denounced the bill as a fraud, which it undoubtedly was. In Caldwell Parish, when an incumbent senator died, voters at a caucus demanded that the candidate pledge himself to oppose the bill. State sentiment was so definitely against the measure that the House of Representatives quickly tabled it by a vote of thirty-seven to seventeen when it was introduced again in 1859.¹⁵

When a committee of the Louisiana House of Representatives recommended repeal of the federal statute prohibiting the foreign slave trade on the grounds that it was unwise and unconstitutional, the committee's minority report, after defending the constitutionality of the national law, went on to summarize the arguments against reopening the foreign slave trade.

In the first place, the minority believed such a step to be "against the wishes of a very large majority of the people of the slave states and the entire sentiment and conviction of the people of the free states." The importation of more Negroes would increase the production of cotton and sugar,

¹³ "Report of the Committee on Federal Relations to the Senate of Louisiana on the Bill Entitled 'An Act to Authorize the People of Louisiana to Import Negro Slaves,'" *Documents of the First Session of the Fourth Legislature of the State of Louisiana*, 1858 (Baton Rouge, 1859), 1-10; Edward Deloney, "The South Demands More Negro Labor," *DeBow's Review*, XXV (1858), 491-506.

¹⁴ "Report of the Special Committee to which was referred a Bill to grant the Authority of the State of Louisiana for the importation of free black laborers within the State," *Documents of the Second Session of the Third Legislature of the State of Louisiana*, 1857 (New Orleans, 1858), 2.

¹⁵ *West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter*, April 10, 1858, March 12, 1859.

but more production would bring about lower prices for those commodities. An influx of Africans would reduce the value of the Negroes already held in Louisiana—"The present owners would be ruined" The report cited Calhoun's opposition to the foreign slave trade and insisted that the natural increase of the slaves already in the country was enough to satisfy normal demand.

High prices existing at the time of the report were regarded as no argument for reopening the trade with Africa, because these prices were a reflection of the increased productivity which increased skill, better seed, and improved implements had made possible. Also the minority believed, probably correctly, that the increased supply of gold resulting from discoveries in California and Australia had contributed to high slave prices.

Poor farmers would not benefit from an increased supply of Negroes, because the value of what they produced would decrease with the general decline of commodity prices. Many slaveless whites would be driven from the South, and these were the men who must shoulder the burden of defending the region if armed defense became necessary. The minority report pointed out that much of the soil in the South was already exhausted, and that many of the acres yet uncultivated were unfit for slave labor. The majority contention that the poorer classes would be strengthened in their support of slavery was answered by the assertion that the people of the South were already united to a greater degree than ever before. Any attempt to revive the foreign slave trade would foster division and discord.

Finally, said the minority report:

The effect of the introduction of these savages . . . upon our present civilized and happy negro population would no doubt be demoralizing and injurious. It would render them unhappy, discontented and insubordinate; the spirit of insurrection and revenge would take the place of the respect and affection they have for their owners now. It would be cruel and unjust on our part to place the savage

African upon an equality with the civilized slaves of the Southern States, and that without any show of justice or reason to support it.¹⁶

To summarize briefly, the people of Louisiana felt themselves injured when the foreign slave trade was prohibited and for almost two decades after the Louisiana Purchase, slave smuggling was carried on to such an extent that it was almost common. Smuggling ceased to be frequent, and may have halted completely, after the early 1820's. In the late 1850's there were attempts to reopen the African slave trade by subterfuge, and by outright defiance of federal law, but these efforts were effectively blocked by the people of Louisiana.

¹⁶ "Minority Report of the Committee on Federal Relations of the House of Representatives Relative to the Repeal of the Laws of the United States against the African Slave Trade," *Legislative Documents*, 1858, 7-15.

Joseph Carson, *Louisiana Confederate Soldier*

By JOHN Q. ANDERSON

is a member of the Department of English at Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College and is the editor of *Brokenburn: The Journal of Kate Stone, 1861-1868*.

IN THE CARSON PAPERS¹ appears a biographical sketch of Joseph Carson (1843-1902) of Louisiana and Mississippi, an account which illustrates the high educational standards of the planter class in the South before the Civil War, the personal hardships of soldiers during the war, and the social upheaval in the years following. In addition, the account of military activity in northeast Louisiana throws some light on that little-known part of the history of the Trans-Mississippi Department which, after its severance from the Confederacy at the fall of Vicksburg, operated almost independently.

Joseph Carson was born in Lexington, Kentucky, while his parents were spending the summer there away from their plantation in Adams County, Mississippi. Son of Dr. James Green Carson, a wealthy planter and landowner, Joe was two years old when his family moved from Mississippi to Airle

¹ The Carson Papers, assembled by William Waller Carson before his death in Knoxville, Tennessee, in 1930, contain biographical and descriptive sketches of importance in Louisiana and Mississippi history. Much of this material has been published in John Q. Anderson's "Dr. James Green Carson, Ante-Bellum Planter of Mississippi and Louisiana," *Journal of Mississippi History*, XVIII (Oct., 1956), 243-267; and "The Narrative of John Hutchins," *ibid.*, XX (Jan., 1958), 1-29. The Carson Papers were kindly loaned the editor by Mr. Joseph Carson, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, son of Joseph Carson, subject of this sketch.

plantation in Carroll Parish in northeast Louisiana. Located about thirty-five miles above Vicksburg on the west bank of the Mississippi River, Airlie became a model cotton plantation where Joe grew up in an atmosphere of wealth, refinement, and carefully supervised religious and academic training. Under tutors he studied Latin, mathematics, science, history, and poetry and was prepared to enter college when his enlistment in the Confederate Army ended his formal education.

Though servants were numerous at Airlie, Joe was responsible for the care of his own horses and hunting and personal equipment. Boyhood sports of hunting, fishing, and swimming gave him an intimate knowledge of the woods, bayous, and swamps of the surrounding country, information which later became invaluable to him as a scout in the Confederate Army. Because of his youth and parental objection, he did not enlist until the summer of 1862, when the threat against Vicksburg became severe. Like most young men of his area, he joined a Mississippi organization. Late in December, 1862, the Federal army, intent on subjugating Vicksburg, landed in the neighborhood of Airlie, and the Carson family fled westward, eventually to Texas,² where Joe's father died in August, 1863. Joe learned two months later of his father's death, obtained leave, and went to Tyler, Texas, to see about his mother. On his return journey to his company, he was unable to get across the enemy-held Mississippi River; consequently, he joined the 4th Louisiana Cavalry, then operating in northern Louisiana, and served the remainder of the war with that organization.

² General William T. Sherman's army of about 30,000 troops landed on Christmas Day a few miles from Airlie. The few Confederates in the area withdrew, and the Federals, soon under General Grant's command, occupied the region in preparation for the attack on Vicksburg.—*Personal Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman*, 2 vols., 3d ed. (New York, 1890), I, 333 ff; *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant*, 2 vols., 2d ed. (New York, 1917), I, 441 ff; *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), 128 vols., series 1, XXIV, part 1, *passim*; *ibid.*, part 3, *passim*. For a description of civilian life in the occupied area and the flight of the planters, see John Q. Anderson (ed.), *Brokenburn: The Journal of Kate Stone, 1861-1868* (Baton Rouge, 1955), 164-225.

In 1917, fifteen years after Joe's death, his brother William Waller Carson, who served with him in the 4th Louisiana Cavalry, wrote the sketch which follows. Professor Carson, who at that time had retired after forty years of teaching at the University of Tennessee, wrote with objectivity and humor and without sentimentality. The narrative, which Professor Carson apologized for as "largely of little war incidents" intended "to portray Joe's personality," is here given in the writer's own words though episodes have been rearranged in chronological order and in some instances reparagraphed.

"Joseph Carson was my brother. We were raised together, were playmates, classmates, and companions until he entered the Army. Later we belonged to the same regiment for about one and a half years, were thrown together from time to time thereafter—sometimes for weeks at a time—and corresponded constantly between times. He was one and a half years older and always took the lead. Indeed, he never ceased to regard himself as my natural adviser and protector and, to some extent at least, even as my guardian. And so our intercourse, whether oral or written, was affectionate, cordial, sympathetic, and frank. . . .

"In physique Joe was rather less than the medium in weight and height, quick, active and somewhat restless. Thanks to the good sense of our father, to the guns, the boats, the dogs and horses, and to that splendid out of doors gymnasium with which he equipped our home, and to the insistence with which he encouraged our sports and compelled us to jump and to run and to use the gymnasium, Joe had a splendid all around physical development. He was an exceptionally fine swimmer. Indeed, few men were more at home on a horse or in navigating any inland body of water, whether the craft was a horse, a log, a skiff, or a dugout. In ability and readiness to endure fatigue, exposure or privation, he was quite remarkable. Even after the war he suffered much from nasal catarrh intensified by later exposure in connection with the levees, but brought on originally by exposure during the last winter of the war as he went to and fro without change of

clothes through rain and cold swimming on his horse if ferry or bridge were lacking. . . .

"He entered the Army at 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ As to his entrance to the army, a number of young men of his age had enlisted but Joe had been kept by his parents from doing so and had become very restless.³ The first siege of Vicksburg was in process. We could hear the guns as the bombardment proceeded, and even see a faint glow on the sky at night as a gun would flash. The place was commanded by Gen. Earl Van Dorn, with Gen. J. C. Breckinridge second in command. Early one morning our mother came into our room in tears and informed us that Gen. Breckinridge had offered to take Joe on his staff as a Volunteer Aide, and that she and father had decided to let him go.⁴ So he hurried off to Vicksburg taking as a valet one of our young negro men, Sam Sargent by name. Sam, however, proved well nigh useless. For the bombardment was so constant and as he did not like shells, his time was passed largely underground in what are now called 'dugouts.'

"As to the date, I only know that Joe was there before July 15, 1862, for on that day the Confederate ram *Arkansas* came out of the Yazoo River, fought its way thru the Federal Fleet and reached Vicksburg so badly shot up that she could steam but one mile an hour. However, she had inflicted so much damage that everybody was wild with delight and thought she could whip the whole Yankee fleet. So it was decided to send her out that night to finish up the job. But she had lost so heavily herself in killed and wounded that it was necessary to add to her crew as well as to patch her machinery and smoke stack. So she called for Volunteers and speedily got all the men she wanted. But tho the mechanics worked all night they failed to fit her for service. When day broke, saner counsels prevailed and the plan was given up. As Joe was

³ Kate Stone (*ibid.*, 120), a neighbor of the Carsons, wrote on June 17, 1862: "Mrs. Carson is much depressed, worrying all the time about Joe's going to the army. She will not let him get off."

⁴ *Ibid.*, 131. On July 11, Kate wrote: "Mrs. Carson has at last given her consent for Joe to go and he is in the wildest spirits. . . . Mrs. Carson is quite resigned to Joe's going. . . . We shall miss Joe greatly, but I am so glad he is going. It is his duty. He is as old as Brother Coley, about nineteen."

one of the volunteers and slept on the boat that night, I know that he was already then in Vicksburg.

"But the particular form of service that he rendered there did not appeal to him, for he soon came to regard a Volunteer Aide as a useless appendage. So as soon as the siege of Vicksburg was abandoned, he hurried home and easily secured, now that the ice was broken, permission from his parents to become a real soldier. He then set out to find the 28th Mississippi Cavalry (Col. Peter B. Sparks [Starke]). But before going he changed his valet, taking this time a somewhat older negro, Pompey Small, who served him to the very end of the war with that signal faithfulness and loyalty and love so often found in the negro before the advent of the carpetbagger. Moreover, Pompey's love and friendship for Joe remained firm and true, despite the differences in their political faiths, to the very hour of Joe's death.⁵

"And here I will make a considerable digression. For I want to say something about an anomaly that was found perhaps only in their negro valets. My brothers, Joe and Jim,⁶ each had his valet, as had I. Joe's was Pompey Small, Jim's was Anderson Walker, and mine was Dan Parker.⁷ It may not have been contemplated in the army Regulations but whenever anything was to be had we drew rations for our negroes and for their horses with no more of question than

⁵ In a letter written in July, 1955, Joseph Carson of Milwaukee said of Pompey: "Pompey with his wife Alice was one of the former Carson slaves who came over into Mississippi with my Father when he cleared the Coahoma County land. I remember him well. He died some time after 1903. . . . When the Spanish American War broke out, the news reached the quarters late one night. The next morning Pompey was at our back door at four. My Father went out in his night clothes. Pompey said, 'Boss, dere's a war. Is you gwine? I's ready.' I believe he was quite let down when my Father told him that they were too old, wars were for young men."

⁶ Jim (James Green Carson) was the third Carson son, born in 1846.

⁷ Kate Stone (*Brokenburn*, 287), describing the Carson boys' servants on furlough with their masters in Texas in 1864, said: "They are the most independent and consequential personages in Tyler. They speak very learnedly of their furloughs and have wordy debates on the subject of rank. Pompey maintains that he and Marse Joe outrank Dan and Marse Willy by reason of their longer service and doing more duty in the field, a fact that Dan is loth to admit. Pompey is quite contemptuous in speaking of Marse Willy and Dan as holiday soldiers and speaks with great respect of the pleasures of a campaign across the river where they have 'so much more fun fighting and shooting.'"

for ourselves. I always suspected that this was simply winked at and for the reason that we so seldom drew our pay. These negroes, being non-combatants, rode at the rear of the regiment and were expected, tho not required, to keep at a reasonable distance from the firing line or other source of danger. And so a negro seldom went out with a small scouting party or to a picket post as in either case he would be exposed to whatever firing there might be. And so there would be days at a time in which the master would get no good from his negro or even see him. But the negro was an immense convenience to his master, notwithstanding, in that he did in general relieve the latter of such domestic drudgery as cooking, washing, sewing, caring for his horse, etc.; and that he remained to care for him and his horse if (as happened the oftener because of our inadequate hospital outfit) he had to be left sick or wounded at some country house.⁸ The function of the negro was to relieve the master of what I have called the domestic drudgery. I never heard of a case in which he relieved him of any part of his official drudgery, such as sweeping the camp, butchering beeves, driving hogs, hauling corn, or grinding the latter with a dull hand mill on a hot day. I do not suppose that the other soldiers would have tolerated any such substitution for a minue, or that they would have been willing to work alongside of a negro in any of these duties. A specially anomalous state of affairs was this—that the domestic side of a private soldier's life was quite often easier and more dignified than that of an officer over him, for some privates had valets while some officers had not.

“But to return: Joe found the 28th Mississippi Cavalry at Bolivar, Miss., and enlisted in it (August 8, 1862) as a private in Company C (Capt. Buckner).⁹ With this regiment he saw strenuous service for fourteen months and rose first

⁸ Such was the case of Kate Stone's brother, Walter, who joined the 28th Mississippi Cavalry at seventeen in 1862 and who died of fever in a home in Cotton Gin, Mississippi, in 1863. • Joe Carson's Pompey was left behind to wait on Walter and was with him when he died.—*Ibid.*, 186 ff.

⁹ The date is correct according to a photostatic copy of Joe's service record in Carded Records of Military Service, Confederate States Army, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D. C.

to the rank of Sergeant and then to that of Color Sergeant, having been complimented several times for gallantry in action and recommended twice for a commission.

"At different times the Federal Authorities transported large numbers of troops on the Mississippi River. The troops would be crowded on ordinary river steamers, called transports then, and convoyed by gunboats. I am of the opinion that the Confederate Cavalry would have done vastly more than it did to harass these troops but for the inertia of the 'Higher Ups.' Not long after Joe enlisted in the 28th Miss. the regiment was ordered to the river for that purpose. For this kind of work it would dismount and lie on a caving bank because the current that scoured away the bank had brought the channel near. Moreover, in low water—and little could be done in high—this bank would generally stand as a bluff some 20 or 30 ft. high, which gave much protection against shells and grape-shot from the gunboats.

"One day from such vantage ground the 28th poured a fire into the portholes of a gunboat, hot enough to cause it to keep those portholes closed until it passed beyond rifle range, after which they were opened again to let the shells come forth. . . . The transport landed a force of infantry to drive off the vexatious cavalry. In default of a trench the dismounted cavalry took position in the bed of a bayou then dry and along which ran a country road. But the enemy also landed artillery, apparently while the fight progressed, for it came as a great surprise. All of a sudden the guns took position in the road at the bend of the bayou and swept its bed with grape-shot.

"The ability of the Confederate soldier to initiate never had clearer illustration and seldom has there been greater unanimity of effort or celerity of execution, for grape-shot range is most impelling. As one man, that regiment sought the nearest cover—an adjacent bend in the bayou's bed. Joe, as he soon found out, had been too much weakened by recent chills to keep up with that procession. But time was golden and after this failure of pedal effort his only hope of

escape lay in mental effort. So he climbed up into the road on which the battery stood and then walked straight along it with what speed he could. For he correctly argued that a [artillery] gun would not be turned on a single man, however near, so long as there was a whole regiment to shoot at. In this affair one of his mess mates was disemboweled by a grape-shot.

"A little spat that he had during his service with this regiment [throws] something of light on the kind of discipline that so often obtained in the Confederate Army and on the freedom of intercourse between officers and men. It also shows how shocking to a professional soldier were the ideas that some of those gallant but uncouth officers brought with them into the service and what little respect they had at first for what even they later came to regard as sacred. It is a well known fact that Minie balls gravitate in battle towards the colors. It seems that in some little fight in which his regiment was engaged the flag had been down a time or two when Joe seized it. . . . A nearby officer, one of the captains, I suppose, seeing that more balls than its pro rata were reaching that part of the field, ordered him to 'take that damned flag to the rear.' Joe answered, 'You go to the rear yourself if you want to, but this flag is going to stay here.' . . .

"When he was 19½ years old his regiment, the 28th Miss., charged two regiments of the enemy's infantry on the edge of Franklin, Tenn., who did not wait for the shock but scurried for the houses. The regiment was at once among them, shooting them down as they ran. Suddenly one man turned, fired into the Confederates, and then deliberately walked towards the houses. Joe, who was passing near, leveled his pistol on him, but ere he pulled the trigger he repented and shot at a fugitive. In answer to my suggestion that he should have shot the first, as presumably the best soldier of that command, he answered, 'I could not afford to kill a man who was doing his duty as bravely as that man was.' It may not be without [importance] to add that in the above little affair of fifteen or twenty minutes Joe's saddle was destroyed as he rode upon it by a ball that passed under him but over his

horse without harm to either, also that the regiment lost more than twenty percent of its men in killed or wounded. . . .

"In one charge . . . I do not recall when or where, Joe's horse, affrighted at something, rose on his hind legs, turned through a right angle and brought down both fore feet squarely on the breast of a wounded Yankee, who lay upon his back. Joe never knew the result for he carried the flag and led the charge, but a number of times in his talks with me since then he has spoken of the groan of the wounded man and expressed his horror at the mishap. . . .

"Joe had almost a contemptuous disregard of anything that had to do with his bodily comfort. One of our lacks which I do not suppose, however, he recognized as a lack of comfort, was our lack of tents and adequate clothing. I have no reason to think that the 28th Cavalry fared better than did the 4th Louisiana.¹⁰ In this last there was the hospital tent and two private tents—one owned by the Major and the other by the Lieutenant-Colonel, with the latter of whom the Colonel generally found shelter. But, in general, officers and men alike lay on the ground and took the weather as it came. However, in camps occupied, say, for a week or more, especially in cases of severe cold or prolonged rains, numerous structures would rise, covered with whatever could be had, say, leaves, bark, slabs of wood, earth, blankets and now and then a rubber cloth—anything in fact that could turn wind or rain. Indeed, as the war wore on, a few cotton flaps appeared, but as I remember their stay was short. I do not think that Joe ever drew from the Government a blanket, coat or other thing to wear, or indeed anything else save food and things to shoot with and perhaps a few doses of medicine. Our paymaster seldom appeared. I got two months' pay for my two years of service. . . . Whether he got anything for his service with the 28th Miss., I do not know.¹¹

¹⁰ Professor Caron's outfit.

¹¹ Carded Records of Military Service, C.S.A., show that Joe was paid during his service with the 28th Mississippi in August, October, and December, 1862, and in February, April, and June, 1863, and that he drew forty cents a day for his horse at each of these pay periods.

"So Joe often lacked clothes that he sadly needed, the need (depending on the season) being sometimes due to weather conditions and sometimes to aesthetic. That which I now have in mind related to the last. When with the advent of the U. S. Gunboats our neighbors, the Bonhams, had to leave the Miss. River, they took refuge in the interior east of Vicksburg. In Johns[t]on's maneuvers, Joe's regiment was passing near the Bonham house, and of course [he] wanted to see the family, especially Miss Belle. But he had only a jacket and a pair of pants that lacked the seat. The garment coextensive with the pants had already worn away and ceased to be. However, the weather conditions did not demand a seat and aesthetic requirements were abundantly met by the saddle or any other seat available.

"So he dismounted in front of the Bonham house and easily reached the needed seat without turning his back to the ladies, if indeed they had [not] already entered the room. But he shrank with more than usual dread from the idea of parting. For the gate beyond which his horse was tied was quite a distance from the house, and the family would, of course, gather on the porch and have the last possible look at their old friend as he walked away. Joe, apparently greatly interested in the farewell words, backed to the porch and down the steps and along the walk. He kept his hands behind him loosely holding his hat, a hat large enough to do the service so soon to be rendered by the saddle. When the increasing distance barred further talk, Joe turned but kept his head still bare until the saddle could relieve the hat.¹² (And here let me add that an element of sadness always attended the visit of a young man soldier to his former neighbors, for these knew that their account of that visit might turn out to be the last news of him to reach his family).¹³

¹² A description of this incident appeared in the "Deep in Dixie" column of the New Orleans *Times-Picayune States Roto Magazine*, April 19, 1956.

¹³ The Bonhams had also been neighbors of the Stones. Mrs. Bonham, in fact, nursed Kate's brother Coleman in her home in Clinton, Mississippi, and in September, 1863, reported his death to the Stones who were then in Texas. Coleman was also a member of the 28th Mississippi, and Joe Carson was with him when he died.—*Brokenburn*, 259-262.

"Meanwhile, our father (late in 1862), finding it necessary to leave the river [Airlie] in order to escape the enemy's gunboats and raiding parties, had bought a plantation in the swamp to which he moved his family and negroes.¹⁴ But early in 1863 he realized that the swamp would be no protection against Federal raids. So as soon as the overflow subsided enough to permit it, he set out with his family and negroes to seek a place of safety in Texas. The trip was slow. For as we had burned our cotton to prevent its capture, there was no money and stops had to be made wherever the work of the negroes could be exchanged for something to eat. And the case was not so simple either, for our father was Executor of the Railey estate and so had to take along about 300 negroes, I suppose, in addition to his own, say, 500 in all. As Father with his family, white and black, wended his way westward, he died suddenly in Tyler, Texas, August 11, 1863. Joe did not hear of his father's death until October. Getting a sixty-day furlough, he and Pompey set out for Texas, riding forty miles a day. They crossed the Mississippi River at night in a skiff, swimming their horses beside it, for the gunboats patrolled the river.

"On their way back in December, Joe spent a couple of days with the 4th Louisiana Cavalry (Col. A. J. McNeill) to which I belonged, operating just then . . . near the Mississippi River. They [Joe and Pompey] went thence to the river on whose banks they spent some eight or ten days, as I remember, trying to find a skiff or dugout in which to cross as before. They would have succeeded ultimately, of course, for the Federals were unable to destroy all boats. But before they did succeed the weather turned very cold and Joe decided that the horses could hardly survive the swim of an hour or more in that icy water. The Confederate Cavalry furnished their own horses; so as a cavalry soldier with no horse and no money with which to buy one would be useless, he wisely gave up the effort and returned to our regiment.

". . . As our home was broken up, and our family income cut off, our cotton burned, and our father dead, we were

¹⁴ Anchorage plantation was about twenty miles inland from the Mississippi. See "Dr. James Green Carson," *Journal of Mississippi History*, XVIII, 262-263.

decidedly short of money. The wear on our clothes was great and none were to be bought even though we had the money. It was only at long intervals that opportunity offered to get anything from our temporary home in Texas, and even then we could not receive [it] because we could not carry more than a single suit and an extra suit of underwear. . . . Through my Captain and Colonel he reported his predicament, and asked for instructions. Col. [Isaac F.] Harrison instructed him to report for duty to Company B (to which I belonged), 4th La. Cav., and promised to arrange the matter with the department.¹⁵ Shortly after entering the regiment he was appointed Sergeant and soon made a record for himself as a good soldier and a daring scout. Through my own association with the officers and men I know that this was the estimate of him that obtained throughout the regiment. . . .

"Joe had a quick mind and could make apt and forceful answers. In January, 1864, a flag of truce set out from our regiment for the fort at Goodrich's,¹⁶ half a mile from Airlie. It was intercepted, however, by an enemy foraging party and held under guard three days, our officers being sent to Goodrich's. The foraging party consisted of about a regiment of negro soldiers whose officers, as in all other cases known to me, were white. The feelings between our men and the negro troops, especially their officers, were intensely bitter along that front. In no fight was it known beforehand whether quarter would be given. Indeed, it was near to both this time and place that one of our Captains, Charlie Collins, of Company C, a most lovable young man of about twenty-three was murdered by negro troops commanded by an officer named Sturgis.

¹⁵ Apparently notice was never received by his old outfit, for the company muster roll (Carded Records, C.S.A.) for November-December, 1863, states: "Deserted: Received furlough to December 8, 1863. Not since been heard from." His service with the 4th Louisiana is not shown. Harrison's Independent Cavalry Brigade consisted of the 3rd Louisiana, commanded by Col. Harrison, the 4th Louisiana, Col. A. J. McNeill, and the 5th Louisiana, Col. Richard L. Capers.

¹⁶ Goodrich's Landing on the west bank of the Mississippi. J. P. Blessington, who served with Walker's Texas Division in the area in 1863, said: "This fort . . . was a garrison of negro troops for the purpose of raiding and destroying everything that could assist any of our troops. They [were] . . . headed by their officers (white men) . . ." *The Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division By a Private Soldier* (New York, 1875), 114.

"But somehow or other some of the Yankees on this occasion seemed to fancy Joe. Ignoring difference of rank, they would invite him to their quarters to have a good time, while negro soldiers with fixed bayonets stood guard over the rest of us. Of course, these officers knew how much drudgery, even under the best of conditions, attached to the life of a private soldier in active service. And they also knew that we served under conditions that were exceptionally severe. Evidently thinking that such things would appeal to Joe, one of the Captains took him aside and said, 'We want to get young men from the South into our Army. If you will leave your people and come to us, you can get almost anything in the way of a commission that you want.' Joe answered, 'The negroes are still bringing good prices on the other side of Bayou Macon (our picket line). If you will march your company to that side, you can get almost anything in the way of money that you want.' The Captain replied, 'I see the point.' Joe was fond of anything resembling a joke, and he delighted to tease. But he never did or said anything that carried a sting. It was simply a bit of pleasantry that had in it more or less of wit. . . .

"He was then twenty and a half years old, and the Second Sergeant of his Company. In the absence of the First Sergeant, the duties of the latter, of course, fell on Joe that day. The horses having been worn by strenuous service, his brigade had been withdrawn to the far side of a little bayou about five miles from the enemy to unsaddle and rest. A country road crossed the bayou and a bridge [and] wound its way in the general direction of the enemy. The Captain of Joe's Company was forty-five years old and tall, brave, and determined, but somewhat slow of thought and slower still of body. I do not know where the Lieutenants were but the Captain and Joe and several others were playing cards. They sat on a blanket spread upon the ground.

"As Joe was dealing, there came the report of a gun from the pickets on the road just mentioned. He dashed the cards to the ground and sprang to his feet. The Captain reached for the scattered cards and said, 'You are in a hell of a hurry.'

Joe answered, 'You will have a Yankee saber over your head in three minutes if you don't hurry too.' With that he rushed for his horse, yelling, 'Fall in, Company B! Fall in, Company B!' since, as I suggested above, it devolved on him to form the company. He saddled and mounted and was again yelling, 'Fall in, Company B!' as the bugles began frantically to ring out the 'Saddle Up' and the 'Mount' almost as if they were a single call. While the Captain was still trying to saddle his horse, the rapid approach of the firing convinced Joe that the pickets were not equal to the situation and that unless somebody did something to gain time the fight would occur in their own camp and before the men could form.

"The emergency was great, so he did that which in almost any other army would have caused him to be court martialed and even shot. He knew that such rapid advance thru that character of country meant (as he afterwards explained) that the enemy was still in column. He knew that a sufficiently savage attack on the head of that column would throw it into confusion and almost surely cause it to halt and form line of battle. And time was the one thing needed then. So with no word to the Captain, who was not yet on his horse, he took the men now in line, about half the company, and dashed off to carry out his plan. But his plan was thwarted at the bridge, for there he found the Senior Colonel standing alone with his pistol drawn. He ordered Joe to stop and hold the bridge. Suffice it to say that, with the help that later came, the bridge was held and the day was saved. To me the point of the incident is this—that out of the seventy-five or one hundred commissioned officers presumably present on that occasion not one seems to have shown himself able to think so clearly or to act so promptly as this twenty and one-half year old Sergeant. . . .

"In the summer of 1864 the 4th Louisiana Cavalry with no particular object that I could discover was again in the vicinity of Airlie. It moved along the byways and halted at a point in the woods, say, a mile or so from Airlie and the fort at Goodrich's just beyond. For Mrs. Johnson, wife of our Lieut. Col. was along on her way north, and it was hoped to

send her by flag of truce into the fort before any firing should occur. Joe and Scott Craig, a private of Company B, rode to Airlie to reconnoiter, having special orders to avoid anything apt to cause the fort or gunboat to shell the woods. Keeping under cover wherever possible, though all fences had been burned, they emerged at the rear of the Airlie overseer's house. A straight road about 500 yards long led east from the front of this house, thru the level 50 acre Quarter to the rear of the yard. As Joe and Scott rode up to the rear of the overseer's house a negro soldier ran out at the front and jumped upon his horse. As he would not heed their call to halt and as they must not shoot, they tried to run him down. He ran straight for the yard. Joe and Scott were gaining on him at every step, but suddenly a great horror seized them, for a few steps more would have taken them into the midst of about a regiment of white soldiers scattered over the yard with some congregated on one of the porches. Their arms were stacked and they were making no effort to shoot or get their guns but seemed wholly absorbed in the race. However, Joe and Scott could not feel sure that this absorption would last, and so they wheeled their horses with the utmost speed.

"When they had run far enough to feel safe, Joe wrote the commanding officer in about these words, 'I came to take this place but finding it stronger than I had supposed I have gone back to get another man to help me.' After signing his name to the communication, he instructed a nearby negro to take it to the officer in the yard. His note, simple, if not silly, written when he and his horse were panting for breath after their double race, seems to me to bring out the fact that Joe liked to joke, and also the more important fact that he felt no ill will toward that unknown Yankee or (hence) toward any Yankee. People do not indulge in pleasantries with those they personally dislike.

"The enemy outposts a few miles further on were of two kinds—the usual picket stand without fortification or protection for the men or guard, and the stockade. The stockades I refer to now were miniature loopholed wooden forts to shelter, say, a dozen men. They were located in the open fields

and were, I take it, mainly to protect the cotton raisers, for the U. S. sought to raise the fleecy staple. Of course, a shell or two would have knocked such a fort to pieces. But the battery that so often went with us was not along this time. So it is hard for me to believe that Col. McNeill really thought seriously of taking their stockades. But he called for Joe and asked him two questions: What he thought of the propriety of taking them, and how he would like to lead the assailing parties. Joe answered that he thought the stockades themselves could be of no use to us whatever, that the sole gain would lie in the number of the enemy that might be killed and captured, and that the loss to us in charging more than a mile through open fields would outweigh the gains. He added, however, that if the Colonel decided on the capture and put him in command he would do what he could.

“The Colonel marched on. But wishing to hide his movements by creating the impression that the regiment still remained in the locality, he instructed Joe to lie in the woods (for a week as I remember) with about a dozen men to drive in once a day the pickets from a certain open post. To do this Joe and his men had to ride through open and level fields for a mile or two, depending on the points of egress chosen. For several days he charged the pickets who would fall back to the fort. From this a detachment of cavalry would charge him and then he would scurry for the woods. The cavalry would never follow into the woods lest they should find our whole regiment in ambush there. Despite the constant firing, I never heard that anybody got hurt in these performances, for the firing was at long range and from running horses.

“Now, our men suffered much from chills, and Joe had a habit of going delirious for several hours when his fever rose to unusual height. One hot day with the fever on him, he set out for the usual routine but went absolutely crazy before the firing commenced. He wanted to get down and lie upon the ground. This in itself would have meant death in that broiling sun. And if the cavalry had charged him then, they

might or might not have given quarter. But his men, holding him in the saddle, led his horse back into the woods. . . .

"A few lines back I told of a consultation between a Colonel and a Sergeant. I have now to mention something similar between a Captain and a Sergeant. Just after the battle of Mansfield, [La., April 8, 1864] Captain John McNeill had been sent off on an errand with his squadron, Companies A and B of our regiment. It was near Alexandria, La. Learning on the way that a force of the enemy was about to strike our brigade, he hastened back to take part, if possible, in the fight. But on nearing the camp the firing told him that the fight was already raging although by reason of the woods he could not see the line-up. He hesitated, and dropping back to Joe he said, 'I don't know what to do; I don't know which side is next to us.' Joe answered, 'What difference does that make? The thing to do is to ride right in. If the Yankees are next to us we will strike them in the rear. If our men are next to us we will take our place in the line.' So they rode in and took position in our line which was next. . . .

"My recollection is that at the particular time of which I am about to speak, the efforts of the La. Cavalry were directed primarily not against the enemy but against the guer[r]illas and arresting all that could be found. In that case a number of parties were doubtless sent out that day, although I recall only two—one commanded by Sergeant Joseph Carson of Company B, the other by Lieutenant Tom Brigham of Company D. The latter, commanded by a Lieutenant, was presumably the larger, and on no other theory can I explain what I am about to describe.

"As clothes were scarce we drew on the enemy as far as possible for things to wear. These we dyed, generally brown or black as opportunity afforded. But opportunity does not seem to have afforded now, for on this occasion Brigham himself and a number of his men wore genuine blue. Joe had taken his party into a house for dinner. The fact that he had put out no picket confirms my impression that he was after guer[r]illas and had little thought of Yankees. However, a

small scouting party had a habit of taking chances, else life would be a burden. Now, Brigham was a young fellow with an established reputation for recklessness and dash. As he came near he learned of Joe's whereabouts and determined to have some fun. So he and his party of bluish hue charged the house, in warrior style. When the cry was raised, 'The Yankees are coming!' Joe ordered his men to get to their horses. He also rushed out but took position on foot behind the corner of the house so as to check the enemy long enough, if possible, for his men to mount and get away. As Brigham's blue coat came by that corner, Joe's pistol was at his breast. I suppose it was the closest call Brigham ever had in all his life, and in another fraction of a second he would have rolled from his horse with powder burns on that blue coat. But his hands went up in time and he yelled, 'For God's sake, Carson, don't you know me?' As Joe turned he found Jim at his back with his pistol drawn to help him stand off that on-coming mass of blue till the other men could escape. Jim was our brother three years younger than Joe and had but recently entered the service.¹⁷ Joe was immensely gratified. In subsequent talks with me he repeatedly expressed his appreciation of Jim's course on that occasion and always with the greatest pride. . . .

"I remember that one night in September, 1864, an effort was made to capture the U. S. Gunboat *Rattler* not far from Natchez—an effort that I think must have succeeded but for the gross and cowardly failure of an officer of the Marines, to whom an essential feature of the program had been committed. The brigade furnished one hundred and fifty men for the undertaking—fifty volunteers from each regiment who I assumed were also to become the crew after the capture had been effected. The men to command these volunteers were appointed without regard to rank. I noticed that Joe was put second in command of the volunteers from our regiment and that several commissioned officers went under him as privates.

¹⁷ Jim, about eighteen, enlisted at Monroe, Louisiana, in August, 1864.

"The first part of the program was for our volunteers to ambush and seize its boat. This much was done and we got thereby two dozen prisoners. They approached within a few feet before the challenge and surrendered without a shot. Joe at once sprang forward and snatched from one of them what in darkness seemed to be a flag furled about its staff. The report got out that he had the Yankee flag, and this was his first idea too. So he was much disgusted to find a minute later that it was only a big signal rocket. I think that the entire program thus auspiciously began. But despite our disappointment I have long felt that the failure of this attempt was a blessed thing for us. For success would have meant furious fighting a few hours later—our newly captured gunboat with its green crew of cavalry for the first time on water against one or more enemy gunboats with well trained crews. It does seem to me now that a child could have foretold the result. . . .¹⁸

"In the evening of May 18, 1865, the 4th La. Cavalry camped on the bank of Bayou Bartholomew, La. Next morning Joe and I left camp under orders, he to go east and I to go west, each with a small party. My own movements are so definitely fixed in my mind that I know the error, if any, in the above date cannot exceed a single day. Joe had orders to proceed to the Mississippi River then in flood and learn what he could as to the numbers and destination of any troops that the enemy might be transporting on the river. On reaching the edge of the overflowed country, he had, as he foreknew, to leave the horses and proceed in skiffs or dugouts a distance of say 20 to 40 miles depending on the obliquity of the route. He steered for Willow Point which lies about thirty miles north of Vicksburg and hence not far from Airlie. This point, which I suppose has long since caved away, then jutted far to the east and was the vertex of a sharp bend or angle of the river with long and somewhat curving sides. Joe knew peo-

¹⁸ The Federal commander of the Mississippi Squadron reported to his New Orleans headquarters on September 14, 1864: "One of the gunboats of this division, the Rattler, was so unfortunate as to have 18 of her crew captured by a portion of Harrison's cavalry some nights since." The prisoners had been paroled and he requested permission to exchange the same number of Confederate prisoners for them.—*Official Records*, series 1, XLI, part 3, p. 182.

ple living on this point and doubtless hoped they could tell him things he would like to know. On reaching the higher ground that lies near the river, [he found that] the water became too shallow for their boats and indeed soon ceased altogether. So it became necessary to proceed on foot. But ere long they discovered a party of the enemy in their rear between them and their boats, presumably landed from a nearby gunboat which must have seen them.

"Their predicament was awkward in the extreme. They were on a narrow strip or point of land barely out of the water. Just behind them lay 20 miles of overflow which they could not cross without the boats just lost. Just before them lay another 20 miles of overflow which even their boats would not enable them to reach, for the Mississippi would first have to be crossed and in that lay the gunboat. They had but two alternatives—to fight their way back to their boats, or to surrender. Some of Joe's party wished to fight, notably our younger brother, James G. Carson, who was very insistent. But Joe said *no*, that the war was over, that he was not willing to shed more blood, and that he would surrender.

"This he did and asked his captors to take them to the captain of the gunboat. To the captain he stated the case and asked that the party be paroled, assuring him that they were not deserters but that they had been caught in a trap. He added that, as he believed the war was over, he thought it would be criminal to shed more blood. It turned out that the captain, Edward Fuller Brooks of Chicago, was quite a gentleman. He assured Joe that he too thought the war was over and that further bloodshed would be a crime. He said he thought Joe had done exactly right, that he did not consider them deserters in any sense, and that he would parole and release them. After further talk Joe learned that he was from Chicago and knew some of our Chicago kin

"The Union Prisoner of War Records on file in Washington say that Joe surrendered in New Orleans, May 26, and was paroled in Monroe, La., June 7, but I well know whereof

I write, and I do know that the record is wrong.¹⁹ For capture and parole were effected at Willow Point, and I am satisfied that the [date of] May 22 for both cannot be in error more than a single day. Possibly the explanation is this, that the report of Captain Brooks reached the fleet commander in New Orleans, May 26, and that Joe was 'constructively' paroled with the regiment in Monroe on June 7, for that regiment was, in fact, paroled in Monroe about that time, though I do not recall the exact date."

Ex-soldier Joe and his brothers, William and Jim, immediately left Monroe and rode to Tyler, Texas, where they rejoined their family about the middle of June, 1865. Not quite twenty-three years old, Joe, the oldest son and head of the family, soon had the refugees ready for the trek back to Airlie. William and Jim remained in Texas to bring their former slaves as soon as the crops were gathered; how many of their 500 former slaves returned to Louisiana is not clear, but the Carsons probably, like other refugee planters, took as many as wanted to go. The following incident, the only one that Professor Carson mentioned occurring on the journey back to a devastated homeland, indicates that Joe went to Texas a second time in October to help his brothers escort the Negroes home.

"We were going home from Texas after the war. Joe was, of course, in charge. Shortly after we passed a regiment of negro soldiers, half a dozen of them slipped out of camp and attempted to plunder our wagon train, evidently thinking that no resistance would be made, for I suppose they thought, as I did, that if a collision occurred we would be massacred. Now, Joe, as an Ex-Confederate soldier, was already sorely chafed in mind. As a Southern white man he, of course, had ideas, though somewhat peculiar now, as to the respect due from the one race to the other. And he could not see that the blue uniform detracted in the least from his personal or property rights. The negroes had already halted a wagon

¹⁹ General S. B. Buckner signed the surrender terms for the entire Trans-Mississippi Department in New Orleans late in May, and General E. Kirby Smith approved them in Shreveport on June 2, 1865.

and answered in an insolent way as he rode up that they were searching for pistols. Joe assured them that he had a pistol and reached for it . . . I saw him reach for his pistol and utter three words that would be sadly out of place in Sunday School . . . The fact that the careers of Joe and Jim and me did not end an hour or so later is due, I think, to the fact that Joe reached to his bootleg in which he usually carried his pistol, whereas he had that morning put it in his belt. Before he found it the negroes had gone and reason returned”

Professor Carson rounded out the sketch of his brother with the following incidents that occurred after the war.

“Immediately after the war Joe, as the oldest son, took charge of the family’s business and gave up all idea of a college education for himself. He arranged, however, for me, Jim, and Ed, the younger brothers, to go to college.²⁰ From that time until the day of his death his life was strenuous and discouraging in the extreme. The world does not yet understand what ‘Reconstruction’ meant to those people, nor how they were galled at every turn by the carpetbaggers, the Yankeeized negroes, and the general political and governmental debauchery. The State and county officials, with possibly no exceptions, were the public enemies and were loathed as such. And I well remember an occasion, indeed the only one that I can recall, on which even Joe’s optimism failed to see the silver lining that is said to go with clouds. During a horseback ride in 1873, I think it was, he made to me this most pathetic of all his remarks, ‘I would hate for my children to grow up with the idea that they have no country’

“After the war Joe spent several years in cotton planting on our plantation in Carroll Parish, La., and one year (as I remember) on a plantation owned by his father-in-law, the

²⁰ William, James, and Edward attended Washington College (later Washington and Lee) immediately after the war when General Lee was president. Graduated with honors in 1868, William became an instructor there for a year, then worked as a civil engineer several years, taught at Davidson College for six years, and finally taught many years at the University of Tennessee.—*Carson Papers*.

late Judge J. W. Montgomery He lost six consecutive crops by overflows. It is easy to see that there was always a crisis—that at any time the loss of just one more crop, whether by broken levee or by political turmoil, might mean financial ruin, or that . . . the murder of his wife and children might result from one drink too much taken by a carpetbag speaker or from a remark of his misunderstood by his dusky audience. Joe told me once that when living in Louisiana he had carefully considered the question whether it had not become necessary for him to hang a certain carpet-bagger by the name of York, lest his wife and child should be murdered by the negroes who were being frenzied by York's talks

“The rest of his life after the war, say, thirty-three or four years, was spent in opening and planting his Oasis plantation in Coahoma County, Miss.²¹ I think that peace and quiet came [to that county] a year or two earlier than they would have done but for Joe. I do not recall the date but it must have been in 1875 or thereabouts. Carpetbag corruption had well nigh reached its lowest level. Each official seems to have kept as much or as little of an account of public money passing thru his hands as happened to accord with his capacity, convenience, or intentions. And so some of the offices furnished pickings that were particularly right and easy. A scramble for office which developed among the scalawags, the carpetbaggers, and the negroes, prominent in which was the negro Sheriff Brown, became so bitter that the citizens were drawn in. As the culmination drew near, the matter took on more and more the aspect of a country-wide contest between colors. The negroes were in large majority and were getting more insolent and overbearing towards everybody. They were getting more insistent that there should be a more equitable division of the harvest furnished by their votes.

“Hearing one day that there was about to be a clash, Joe

²¹ Oasis Plantation, at Stovall, Mississippi, ten miles west of Clarksdale, is owned and operated by John P. Pelegrin, whose wife, the daughter of Montgomery Carson and Frances Dabney Carson, is the granddaughter of Joe Carson.

and Jim with our youngest brother Ed, then visiting them, rode to Friar's Point, the county seat, eight miles away. Of course, in those days everybody was armed all the time. On reaching the town they found that the whites under an Ex-Confederate Brigadier General congregated in one place and the negroes in another, that the leaders on both sides were trying to keep peace, and that a flag of truce yet within call had just been started by the general in command accepting a proposition that both sides disband. When Joe rode up and learned these facts, he told the whites that this was all wrong, that there was but one way to handle the situation. He insisted that the message be changed to this: 'We will give you ten minutes to get out of town.' He carried his point and the negroes melted away. They rallied, however, on a nearby plantation, but were easily scattered after a little fight.

"Then the whites separated in small groups and spent three days in patrolling the county and scattering the negroes wherever they congregated. Early in the affair Jim captured the negro Sheriff's horse which he rode all over the county with the most happy psychological effect. The Sheriff himself, I understand, was never seen in the county again. As far as I can judge, this stand of Joe's brought an era of peace, good will, and mutual understanding between the races that otherwise could hardly have come in years, and at a cost in bloodshed that was insignificant as compared with what would probably have occurred but for it. For after that there was relief and confidence. Before that there was constant dread, a dread which people of this day cannot comprehend.

"Dora, Joe's first wife,²² stood by him through it all with a coolness, a loyalty, a sympathy, an understanding and a love possible only to the most lovely, gentle and exalted of the race. She kept a loaded pistol ever in reach except when Joe or Jim was present, and for days she kept a basket of food ready packed in case it became necessary to take refuge

²² Joe and Dora Montgomery Carson had two sons. After Dora's death, Joe married Frances Lee Bowmar in 1892. To them were born five children, four of whom are still living.

in the woods. A dense forest surrounded the house: the nearest white person was a full mile away, and the negroes were in a state of suppressed excitement. Under these circumstances a weaker man would have hesitated to leave his home unprotected on the day of that riot. But Joe did not hesitate. He saw that the general and aggressive treatment then possible promised more of safety than anything local and defensive. So he informed several of the more influential negroes that he was leaving for Friar's Point but that a reckoning would surely follow if, on getting back, he found that harm had come to his wife or children. Then he and Jim and Ed rode off with the result already stated.

"Not many people realized how much of pecuniary discouragement, expense and loss came to that delta region through the uncertain and breaking levees, demoralized labor and the ever-falling price of cotton, not to mention again the political condition just referred to. Joe lived just long enough to feel assured that the night was well nigh past and the day not far off—a day that came at last, and which now makes that country blossom as a rose. It does seem to me that his whole life after the war was a continual contest with carpetbaggers, scalawags, negroes, overflows, etc., always some and sometimes all. But he never doubted that the tide would some day turn, nor did he ever cease in his effort to make it turn

"It is a well-known fact that a man's bearing as a soldier in war is an expression of his real self more true by far than his career as a civilian while a soldier, I regarded [an enemy] not as an individual but as an official pure and simple and . . . I do not think I even felt personal bitterness. I am satisfied that this was also true of Joe. Indeed, I think he would have gone further out of his way to serve a Yankee prisoner than a Confederate soldier, because of the prisoner's helplessness. And as to that word 'Yankee'—that is now simply a provincialism. It has long since lost with me, as I think with Ex-Confederates generally, the idea of opprobrium that it used to carry."

Joseph Carson died at fifty-nine on October 20, 1902, and was buried at Indian Mound, Oasis Plantation. The *Delta Register*, Clarksdale, Mississippi, said on October 20 in an obituary: “. . . in this day when all the nicer graces seem to have been lost in the mad pursuit of selfish ends, he preserved in himself all of those delightful qualities of the true gentleman of fifty years ago, the man of the old school, chaste in life, refined of speech and thoughtful of his fellows, not given to harsh judgment, and disparaging evil report . . . a gentleman in all the term implies”

Vignettes

HISTORIC GROUND . . . THE SITE OF LOUISIANA'S STATE CAPITOL

"The site . . . is historic ground; over it hovers the romance of the struggles of the great powers for supremacy of the Mississippi Valley. These extensive grounds . . . were occupied successively by the armed battalions of France, England, Spain, and America.

"Here, in 1779, Galvez, the Spanish Governor-General of Louisiana, after three days' battle, captured the British Garrison under Col. Dickson. Here, in 1810, Philemon Thomas, with his mixed band of pineswoodsmen and Ohio flatboatmen, captured the Spanish post, killing Grandpre, its commander, and wresting West Florida from Spain. Here nearly every prominent officer in the United States Army since the Revolution did duty. Wilkinson and the first Wade Hampton, Revolutionary heroes, commanded here; as did afterwards Gaines and Jesup and Taylor, heroes of the War of 1812. Here Winfield Scott, the conqueror of Mexico, saw his first service as lieutenant of artillery. Here Lafayette was received by the military and citizens in 1824, and Andrew Jackson later. Here was the home of Zachary Taylor, hero of Buena Vista and President of the United States, and of his brilliant son 'Dick', the distinguished Confederate general. Here, in 1861, the Louisiana State Guard, before the secession of Louisiana, took the garrison and the arsenal, with all their munitions of war, from the United States troops. Here, in 1862, General Breckinridge, commanding the Confederates, fought a desperate battle with the Union Army and Navy under Williams and Farragut. Williams was killed, and the Confederate ram Arkansas was blown up in full view.

"These grounds were trodden by Grant and Lee, Sherman and 'Stonewall' Jackson; by McClellan and the Johnstons, Bragg and Rosecrans; by Longstreet and Harney; George H. Thomas and Beauregard; by Forrest and Phil Sheridan, Hardee and Hood; by Hancock and Custer, Admiral Porter and Bishop-General Polk; and by the great civilians, Clay and Calhoun, Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis.

“‘Loose thy shoe from thy foot, for the place whereon thou standest is holy.’”

Louisiana State University *Catalogue, 1910-1911* (Baton Rouge, 1911), 23-24.

NO WHITTLLING ON IBERVILLE PARISH (PLAQUEMINE)
COURT HOUSE FURNITURE

From a unanimously-adopted Police Jury Resolution, September 4, 1854:

“Be it further Resolved, That the Hon. W. B. Robertson Judge of the 6th District Court, requested to adopt stringent rules for the preservation of the furniture in the Court House and to prevent persons from whittling and otherwise injuring the chairs, tables and other fixtures belonging to the Court House.”

Historical Records Survey, *Iberville Parish (Plaquemine), Police Jury Minutes, I (1850-1862)* (*Transcription of Parish Records of Louisiana* No. 24. University, Louisiana, 1940), 104.

STEAMBOAT JUSTICE

“I was on board the *City of Louisiana*, bound for New Orleans. There was a large number of passengers, and a heavy load of freight. The roof was literally covered with coops full of chickens and turkeys. I had old monte running in full blast, but the chicken men could not bet, as they were going to market instead of coming away. They were so very much interested in the game that they forgot to watch their coops. After a while one of them went up, and found that some one had stolen some of his chickens. The pilot told him he saw the man taking them, so he went down and told the Captain, and he sent for the pilot to pick out the thief. They found him and brought him into the cabin, when some one proposed to try him by judge and jury; so they elected me judge, and I impaneled a jury. We heard the evidence, and the attorneys made their arguments. Then I charged the jury, and they retired to the bar-room (as we did not have any regular jury room). They were out about as long as it would take a first-class barkeeper to make up twelve drinks, and then they filed back into the court-room, each one putting his handkerchief away, as if they had all been crying over the awful verdict

they were about to render. I asked the foreman if they had agreed upon a verdict, and he said, 'We have, your Honor.' Just at this time there was some commotion in the court-room (occasioned, no doubt, at the sight of the twelve handkerchiefs). I told the sheriff to rap for order, but it was some little time before it could be restored. I then told the jury to stand up and hear their verdict. The foreman read the verdict, which was: 'We, the jury, find the defendant guilty.' I then told the defendant to stand up and hear his sentence. 'You are to return the chickens to their owner, pay a fine of six bottles of wine and the costs of this suit, and be imprisoned in the bar-room until the fine and costs are paid.'

"As there was no other cases on the docket, I ordered the sheriff to adjourn court (to the bar). The sheriff went up with the man who had lost the chickens, and they picked out three dozen. When they came down and reported to me that they had returned three dozen chickens, the criminal yelled out that he had only taken one dozen. The poor fellow did not have the money to pay for the wine, so he had to give a bill of sale for his chickens.

"After all of my judicial duties were performed, and while the bar (of justice) was full of people, and the people were full (of what they got at the bar), I opened up the deal little three-card racket, and in a short time I owned every chicken and turkey on the roof of that boat.

"What to do with my live stock I did not know. I had a bill of sale from the chicken men, but what I wanted just then was a chicken buyer. I at last had an offer from the second clerk which was much less than the market value; but as I never had much use for anything I could not put in my pocket, I accepted his offer and sold out. The chicken men had no business in New Orleans, as they had sold in transit, and not one of them had any money; so I called them up to the office, and gave each one money enough to take him back to Cairo."

George Devol, *Forty Years a Gambler on the Mississippi* (New York, 1926), 75-77.

SUIT OF SUBMARINE ARMOR

At the "Special Term" of the Police Jury of Concordia Parish, held at Vidalia on March 22, 1859, the following resolution was adopted:

"Resolved, That G. W. Green be appointed to procure a suit of submarine armour for the use of the Parish, to be used in case of high water, to examine holes in levees, and that the cost of the same is not to exceed \$200, and that amount is hereby appropriated out of the Annual Levee Fund to pay for the same."

Proceedings of the Policy Jury of the Parish of Concordia; Passed at Their Special and Regular Sessions in March, April and July, 1859 (Vidalia, 1859), 6.



A LOUISIANA CONGRESSMAN WHO LOVED THE LAND—

EDWARD JAMES GAY

"He loved to see the mellow earth turn from the shining share. He loved to see the tender shoots of cane mark the long brown rows with tints of early spring and then grow on until they hid the earth with a continuous canopy of green. He loved to view the fields when under summer suns they lay like a sea at calm, or were stirred by the breeze into emerald waves of loveliness and grace. And when the autumn was well along, and the harvest came, to him whose life had always been an active one, there was a certain excitement in the busy grinding time, when he saw the skillful cutters stretched in line, with rapid blow and gleaming knife, strip and top and fell the standing canes and cast the purple stalks in even rows and piles ready for the wagon's load; when above the sounds of rustling leaves and ringing steel, of rumbling carts and teamster's urgent words, there came the cheery voices of contented labor, which burst at times into a work-song, weird and wild, but full of melody. He loved to see without his factory walls the ruddy glare of furnace-fires, and within the engines go on and on by night and day; and massive rolls crush out the liquid sweets, the amber juices foam and dance with heat and steam, the machines revolve with lightning speed, from which at last emerge the pure and sparkling crystals, the finished product of twelve long months of cost and toil."

From an address by Representative Morton Smith Wilkinson in the House of Representatives, March 22, 1890. "Memorial Addresses on the Life and Character of Edward J. Gay, a Representative from Louisiana," *House Miscellaneous Document No. 108, 51 Cong., 2 Sess., 9-10.*

SPANISH-AMERICAN BOUNDARY POST AT THE NORTHWEST CORNER
OF THE FLORIDA PARISHES

Sir William Dunbar (Commissioner for Spain) and Andrew Elliott (Commissioner for the United States) begin their survey of the 31st parallel boundary line between the United States and Spanish West Florida.

"At the distance of one and two miles . . . were erected square posts, surrounded by mounds . . . and at the distance of 88 French feet in the direction of the parallel of Latitude from the river bank, was erected a squared post of magnitude 10 feet high, surrounded by a mound of earth 8 feet in height. On this point is inscribed on the South Side a crown with the letter R underneath; on the North U. S., and on the West side fronting the River Agosto 18th, 1798, 31° Lat. N."

"Report of Sir William Dunbar to the Spanish Government at the conclusion of his services in locating and surveying the thirty-first degree of latitude," Mississippi Historical Society *Publications*, III (1900), 187.

Notes and Comments

AFFAIRS OF THE ASSOCIATION

The annual meeting of the Association will be held March 11-12, 1960, in New Orleans, at the Sheraton-Charles Hotel. Joe G. Taylor is chairman of the program committee. Kenneth Trist Urquhart, Executive Secretary, is in charge of local arrangements. The essential reservation and program literature will be sent to members in a separate mailing. The Board of Directors will meet on the evening of March 10.

Progress in the renovation of Memorial Hall and the Confederate Museum exhibits has been steady during the past calendar year. Basic improvement has been in the re-wiring and lighting modernization.

A significant organizational development within the Association took place in August, 1959, when Kenneth Trist Urquhart resigned as president of the Association to take on part-time responsibilities as Executive Secretary, within the renovated offices at Memorial Hall, 929 Camp Street, New Orleans. John S. Kyser, President of Northwestern Louisiana College, and the Association's Vice-President, succeeded Mr. Urquhart as President. Dr. Kyser will continue to serve as President through March, 1961.

The Association will look forward to a visit in February, 1960, by Walter Muir Whitehill of the Boston Athenaeum. Mr. Whitehill is the Director of a study of independent historical societies, an *ad hoc* organization sponsored by the Massachusetts Historical Society, the American Antiquarian Society, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the Virginia Historical Society. The study is being supported by a grant from the Council on Library Resources, Inc., for the purpose of studying the research and publication functions and the financial future of the independent historical societies.

The Association's role in the observation of the Civil War Centennial was the subject of an executive committee planning meeting on December 11, 1959.

In compliance with the Louisiana law on the subject, the list of members belonging to the Association was filed with the Secretary of State on December 15, 1959.

The Association is fortunate, indeed, to have obtained the services of Wilkins Fisk Urquhart to manage the day to day affairs of Memorial Hall, following the retirement of Miss Dora Pool. This cultured head of the Scotch Urquhart clan, Braelingwell, will greet you on your next visit to Memorial Hall.

MEETINGS

The Southern Historical Association held its twenty-fifth annual meeting at the Biltmore Hotel in Atlanta, Georgia, November 12-14. T. Harry Williams, Boyd Professor of History at Louisiana State University, was succeeded as president of the Association by W. B. Hesseltine of the University of Wisconsin. William H. Masterson, Rice Institute, is the current editor of the Association's *Journal of Southern History*.

The Louisiana Genealogical and Historical Society, the Department of History, and the General Extension Division of the Louisiana State University will sponsor the Third Annual Genealogical Institute to be held on the university campus January 8-9, 1960. Harry Wright Newman will deliver a paper on "Southern Migration and the English Background of Early Louisiana Settlers" at the Institute banquet on the evening of January 8, 1960.

The Seventy-Fourth Annual Convention of the American Historical Association was held in Chicago, Illinois, at the Conrad Hilton Hotel, December 28, 29, 30. Numerous other professional groups held joint meetings with the Association. It is one hope of the Louisiana Historical Association that at our regular annual March meetings the various state and local organizations in fields related to our own activities will see fit to hold joint-sessions with us. The geographers, folklorists, genealogists, students of state and local government and politics, musicologists, museum people, landmarks people, and librarians, all have an interest in state and local history, and all have much to offer in the way of a better understanding of how our state, its communities, and its citizenry came to be what they are today.

Mrs. Martha G. Robinson of the Louisiana Landmarks Society called a meeting of interested people from all over the state to meet with her group in New Orleans on December 11, 1959. Organizational problems discussed at that meeting will be reported later.

LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

During the past year, three major libraries in Louisiana have been formally dedicated. These are the Louisiana State Library, the Louisiana State University Library, and the New Orleans Public Library. These three structures alone involved total capital outlays of approximately \$8,000,000.

An appropriation bill providing \$300,000 for a warehouse-type archives and records center for the State was unanimously passed by the House of Representatives during the regular session of the 1959 Legislature. \$100,000 of the total in this bill would have been used for such things as shelving, lamination, microfilming, and decontamination equipment. With many other worthy measures, the bill died in the Senate. The proposed building would have been patterned after that constructed by the State of Michigan following that state's disastrous state house fire.

Louisiana State University's first honorary doctorate awarded to a woman was presented to State Librarian Essae Martha Culver during the Centennial observances marking the dedication of the new Louisiana State University Library.

During August, 1959, the State Archives and Records Commission offices were moved from subterranean areas in the Capitol to the renovated old Peabody Hall, just back of the new State Library building on Third Street, in Baton Rouge. Current activities of the Commission largely involve the identification and elimination of useless records in major record producing agencies, and the operation of a small semi-centralized microfilming unit (6 cameras). The cameras acquired by the Commission can do most every job currently required by state and local agencies of the government, except to provide microfilm copies of x-ray photographs. Major offices served and being served include: Secretary of State, State Comptroller, Attorney General, Pardon Board, Louisiana Tax Commission, Louisiana Department of Highways, State Forestry Commission, and the Department of Agriculture. While the Commission's facilities are clean, well-kept, and accessible, archives and other records cannot be accepted for deposit and preservation owing to the lack of an adequately-equipped, fire-proof building.

PERSONALS

The History Department, Tulane University: *Promotions:* John L. Snell to professor; W. Burlie Brown to associate professor; Hugh F.

Rankin to assistant professor. *New Appointments*: Hans A. Schmitt, formerly at the University of Oklahoma, associate professor. *Leaves of Absence*: Charles T. Davis and Gerald M. Capers, both for research on projects for which they were awarded Guggenheim Fellowships; John L. Snell to serve as Executive Director of Committee on Graduate Education in History; and for 1960-61, Charles P. Roland (Guggenheim Fellowship) and Thomas L. Karnes (first semester).

The Department of History, Louisiana State University: *New Appointment*: Patrick Lipscomb, III, instructor; *Leaves of Absence*: T. Harry Williams; Robert B. Holtman, second semester; Walter C. Richardson, second semester, to serve as visiting professor of history, University of Texas.

The Department of Social Studies, Southwestern Louisiana Institute: *New Appointments*: Robert M. Albert, assistant professor of history; Paul J. Stewart, Jr., assistant professor of history; and Robert R. Miller, assistant professor of history. *Resignations*: Paul K. Conkin to accept a position with the University of Maryland; Roy B. Scott to accept a position at the University of Missouri.

Northwestern State College's Department of Social Studies: *New Appointments*: Jacques A. Brown, assistant professor; and Ruth C. Cowen, instructor.

The Department of Social Studies, Southeastern Louisiana College: *Promotion*: Harold Leu to the rank of professor. *New Appointment*: Wayne Newkirk, assistant professor. Howard Nichols has returned from military leave.

St. Mary's Dominican College: *Promotion*: Sister Mary Eugene, O.P., associate professor of history, to academic dean.

ALLIED ORGANIZATIONS

The Louisiana Genealogical and Historical Society recently deposited its collections of genealogical and historical material in the Louisiana State Library.

The Morgan City Historical Society, Bob McChesney, President, and C. J. Peltier, Advisor, is preparing a nine-chapter history of Morgan City, which the Society hopes to have ready for publication on March 31, 1960, in time for the Morgan City Centennial.

The Friends of the Cabildo, Mrs. Arthur Quentin Davis, President, is waging a campaign to change the makeup of the State

Museum Board, and to obtain sufficient financial support for urgent needs of the buildings in the State Museum's custody.

The Opelousas Tourist Center and Museum recently acquired the Jim Bowie Knife Collection from Mr. Ben Prather of Alexandria.

The Central Louisiana Historical Society now issues a quarterly *News Letter*, and its members recently went on a guided tour of the route of the Red River Campaign of 1864.

President John S. Kyser of this Association is also president of the North Louisiana Historical Association. During the past year, Max V. Bradbury has been producing and issuing a most creditable *News Letter*. The Association members met on December 6, in Shreveport, to hear a paper by George A. Stokes.

The very active Restoration of Colonial Natchitoches, Inc., made a strong effort to obtain restoration funds during the 1959 session of the State Legislature. Eugene P. Watson, Northwestern's librarian, is president of the group.

The Louisiana Division, United Daughters of the Confederacy, is working hard to get the Port Hudson Battle site declared and maintained as a State Historical Park under the Louisiana Parks and Recreation Commission.

The Book Club of Pointe Coupee Parish is engaged in the compilation of a history of the Parish, 1699-1865, based in large part on the records in the courthouse.

The New Orleans Cultural Center Commission, Alfred J. Moran, President, is providing meeting facilities to numerous historical groups in the Crescent City. The old City Hall is now designated Gallier Hall.

One of the state's most active groups is the Louisiana Colonials of New Iberia. This group will eventually provide a local organization to sponsor the most effective use of "The Shadows." Miss Alice A. Gates is president of the group.

Donald J. Millet, who served as chairman of this Association's committee to select Louisiana entries for the 1,500-word essay contest on "Reflections While Standing Before the Lincoln Memorial," has been chosen President of the Southwest Louisiana Historical Society.

The Feliciana Garden and Pilgrimage Club has been working hard in recent years to raise sufficient funds for the restoration of "Marston House."

MISCELLANY

F. M. Rosentreter and the Department of Social Sciences at Northwestern State College are engaged in a study of the teaching of history by means of television.

George A. Stokes of the Northwestern State College faculty is in charge of the reorganization and renovation of the Williamson Museum. There is much of Louisiana historical interest in the collections.

Margaret Burke Sabadie, assistant librarian at St. Mary's Dominican College, shepherded a three months tour of Dominican students and friends of the college through Europe last summer. Another tour will be sponsored next summer.

The November, 1959, issue of the North Louisiana Historical Association's *New Letter* has a well written article on the Russell Family, authored by Katherine Bridges of the Russell Library at Northwestern State College.

Curt Siegelin, Executive Director of the Department of Commerce and Industry, has approved a suggestion of this Associations' Board which will result eventually in the setting up of an appropriate historical marker at the point where the Airline Highway crosses Bayou Manchac, just south of Baton Rouge.

History News, November, 1959, notes that North Carolina and Mississippi are the only two southern states which handle all their historical activities—library, records, museum, markers, sites—through one agency. North Carolina has forty-four employees and a biennial appropriation of \$680,070. Mississippi has nine employees, and is now asking \$246,492 for an expanded program in the Old Capitol.

The Board of Curators of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin announced the installation of Dr. Leslie H. Fishel, Jr., as Director of the Society, October 31, 1959.

Washington Parish will soon have a Veteran's Memorial listing the names of 3,147 soldiers from the parish, 1777-1950. The memorial will be located in Franklinton.

A NOTE OF APPRECIATION

The editors wish to thank Ernst Seemann, of the Louisiana State University Press, for designing the format of *Louisiana History*. Mr. Seemann prepared three complete sets of designs and the final selection was made after conferences with Donald Ellegood, Director of the Louisiana State University Press, John C. L. Andreassen, Director, State Archives and Records Commission, and Mrs. Inez W. Land and Francis Holliday of the Franklin Press.

the Southwestern backwoodsmen and frontiersmen. The chapter titled "Jugs, Jokers, Fights, and Frolics," deals with the moral code of the squatter, with his interest in hunting, racing, rough and tumble fighting, frolics, and with his attitude toward women and sex. The last mentioned is of particular interest because the journal was prepared for a masculine audience and consequently is far more robust than the Victorian proprieties of the times usually allowed. Dr. Yates points up the fact that, until the journal ceased publication in 1861—Porter had died in 1858 and his successors discontinued the magazine when war stopped mail service to the Confederate States—it created our most complete account of the professional and planter class's version of the life of the poorer white squatters, backwoodsmen, and hunters of the Old Southwest.

Of particular interest to Louisiana readers will be the discussions of Louisiana correspondents, the many tales laid in Louisiana, and the importance of Louisiana newspapers as sources of stories about riverboatmen and back country characters. More yarns were reprinted from the *Picayune*, Dr. Yates observes, "than from any other exchange source, with the possible exception of the St. Louis *Reveille*." The work includes discussions of the contributions of Thomas Bangs Thorpe of the Felicianas, Robert Patterson of Concordia, Dr. Henry Clay Lewis of Madison and Tensas parishes, and others.

Finally, the style of the book deserves mention. The author retells a number of the tales to illustrate their subjects and manner, and is uniformly skillful in retaining the salty tang of the original stories, which, history, criticism, and sociology aside, are well resurrected. So lively, humorous, and unpretentious a book is as pleasant as it is enlightening.

Southwestern Louisiana Institute

MILTON RICKELS

HUEY LONG'S LOUISIANA: State Politics, 1920-1952. By Allan P. Sindler. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1956. xv, 316 pp. Maps, tables, bibliography, index. \$5.50.)

Professor Sindler, a political scientist, has written one of the best historical accounts of the Long movement yet to appear. Employing the techniques of his trade, including tables, charts, and sometimes a too ponderous terminology, he subjects Pelican state politics to a detailed analysis. Incidentally, his title is misleading, as only 70 of the 286 pages deal with Huey Long; the emphasis is upon events coming after 1935.

In summary, the author sees the Long movement originating in class tensions; it was an expression of what Professor Sindler calls the "lower-class whites," and was fated to erupt regardless of whether Huey Long had appeared on the Louisiana scene. Longism has survived because it has continued to gratify the desires of the masses. Correspondingly, the opposition has failed whenever it has forgotten to continue the welfare program inaugurated by the Longs. This, of course, is the impersonal analysis of the social scientist and ignores the influence of the dynamic leader in politics. In the opinion of this reviewer, it is open to serious question.

Professor Sindler's book is good, but it has some shortcomings. Notably, it takes too academic a view of politics, judging the process from an ideal rather than a practical standard. The politics of any state is too complex to be understood from the study alone, and Louisiana politics is more complex than most. Professor Sindler's account is admirable as a collection of information, but it lacks a certain realism.

Louisiana State University

T. HARRY WILLIAMS

LOUISIANA SUGAR PLANTATIONS DURING THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR. By Charles P. Roland. (Leiden, Holland: E. J. Brill, 1957. x, 150 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. 15 guilders.)

In this short study Professor Roland has described the effects of secession, civil war, and military occupation on Louisiana sugar plantations. In one place or another the author discusses or at least mentions most of the significant aspects of plantation life during the crisis of war.

Basing his study on a multiplicity of sources, but primarily on the records of large planters, the statements of travelers, the reminiscences of articulate Southerners and Northerners who fought, visited or resided in the South, regimental histories, and New Orleans newspapers, the author presents a well-written, interesting narrative of the destruction and deterioration of not only an industry, but also a way of life. After two introductory chapters a description of plantation life and labor at various stages of the conflict is presented. The author moves from a discussion of the situation at the time of secession to a description of the conditions on the eve of invasion. Then attention is paid to the effects of blockade and invasion and to the destructive results of military operations and occupation. There is also an interesting discussion of labor problems in the war-torn sugar belt.

The conclusions reached by the author are not unexpected. This study confirms that most of the planters discontinued their plantation operations; that those who did not were either unionist or pseudo-unionist in sympathy; that many planters abandoned their estates and moved westward away from the zones of occupation; that labor was generally unavailable in sufficient quantities; that when it was available it was usually unreliable; that the representatives of the federal government failed to understand the difficulties of war-time sugar cane culture and sugar manufacture and through this lack of comprehension often compounded the difficulties of the planters; and that the conflict destroyed the old sugar regime and along with other reasons prevented the development of a new system for a decade and a half.

This work is a significant addition to Louisiana historiography. However, its value would have been increased had a map of the sugar region been included. Questions could be raised concerning some of the author's general statements in the first three chapters, but this is always the case. Furthermore, even the questionable points (the author's comments on such topics as the "plantation ideal," transportation and communication, and class relations) does not measurably detract from his study of the sugar plantations during the period of strife.

McNeese State College

RALEIGH A. SUAREZ

THE ANGRY SCAR: The Story of Reconstruction. By Hodding Carter. (Garden City: Doubleday, 1959. 425 pp. Bibliography, index. \$5.95.)

Whether viewed from North or South of the Mason-Dixon Line, the Reconstruction period was a dismal one. Once again this fact has been made crystal clear in Hodding Carter's *The Angry Scar*.

Mr. Carter's book is a synthesis of the best secondary sources on the subject. It thus includes materials from the two basic interpretations of the Reconstruction period. Much will be palatable to Southerners, much to Northerners, and contrariwise. For comfort's sake, both must remember that this period was in Mr. Carter's inimitable words, "the most unchallengeable evidence of the complexity and the inconsistency of political man."

The book covers all phases and facets of this tragic period. The arrangement is topical. The whole is illumined with excellent and

lively quotations from diaries, newspapers, etc. Accompanying each important character is an interesting and pertinent summary of background material. In fact, the human element looms large in the entire book. Of the Southerner, Radical, and Negro, the author reiterates many times that they would have been less than human, or super-human, had they acted other than they did.

The last chapter, "Heritage," gives complete meaning to the title. The scar left by the Federal government's assumption of race relations eighty years ago is again angry from blows directed today to the same purpose. "And the end is not in sight." These words complete the book.

Among the very few errors of fact, there is one which, though minor perhaps, a Louisianian feels should not be overlooked. In the concluding remarks on P. B. S. Pinchback, Mr. Carter says, "but the principal political offense that damned him in Louisiana was that he was not white." (p. 262) This is hardly a tenable statement.

The book is brilliantly written, is entertaining, and should be profitable to all those who have not read the major sources upon which it is based.

Southeastern Louisiana College

MARTINA E. BUCK

PARSON CLAPP OF THE STRANGERS' CHURCH OF NEW ORLEANS. Edited by John Duffy. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1957. xii, 191 pp. Illustrated, portrait, bibliography. \$5.00.)

The historian's task is difficult since he must collect facts as reported by those who witnessed the events under study. The historian cannot reenact an event as the laboratory scientist is able to do. He must interpret historical happenings as reported by others. His job is to evaluate how accurate were the reporters' observations since his thesis will be based on these facts. Hence lies the importance of Dr. Theodore Clapp or Parson Clapp as he was known to his contemporaries in New Orleans. As the editor of his autobiography, Dr. John Duffy states he was in no sense a great man, but for the historian he was a shrewd observer.

In some respects one's center of interest shifts from the description of ante-bellum New Orleans so vividly described by Parson Clapp to the editor's presentation of the religious setting of early nineteenth century America, so well is this told. Any student of American his-

tory could read the introductory chapters with profit for this purpose alone. Parson Clapp was unusual in many respects. He certainly was no conformist. His religious views were probably his reaction or rebellion against the stern puritanical God of his generation. To one of his nature, New Orleans provided a natural setting. He could believe what he wished in the tolerant and fun loving city of New Orleans. His inquiring mind took in the scene about him and he faithfully recorded for future generations to ponder about the terrifying epidemics, the religion, and other significant events that were part of New Orleans. Because, as stated by the editor, he had the rare capacity for maintaining objectivity without losing compassion, he gave us a valuable document of the happenings in the city. He not only saw, but he lived his report.

The editor is to be congratulated for the skill in which he presented the setting, story, and recordings of Parson Clapp of the Strangers' Church.

Louisiana State University
School of Medicine

WILLIAM D. POSTELL

THE JOURNAL OF JEAN LAFFITE: The Privateer-Patriot's Own Story. (New York: Vantage Press, 1958. 153 pp. Illustrations. \$3.50.)

In a series of autobiographical accounts dated from 1845 to 1850, *The Journal of Jean Laffite* chronicles the career of that historically elusive person from his childhood in Port-au-Prince to the middle of the nineteenth century. It covers his career of privateering and smuggling and the part he played in the Battle of New Orleans, the conspiracy in the western part of the United States, the Latin American independence movements, and the liberal movements of the 1830's and 1840's. If authentic, *The Journal* certainly can contribute to an understanding of Laffite himself and the period in which he lived by providing scholars with such valuable information as the financial support of Marx and Engels in 1847 "to help bring about the revolution of working men of the world."

If *The Journal of Jean Laffite*, subtitled *The Privateer-Patriot's Own Story*, is authentic, why is this first edition technically so shoddy? It contains neither a table of contents nor an index, and in a total of 144 pages of text there are only 8 footnotes. It claims to be a translation from the original French, but neither a translator nor an editor is named. The only attempt at authentication is an illustration of a French manuscript with a superimposed typed letter

from the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress addressed to an unidentified "Dear Mr." The Library of Congress letter merely states that the specimens it examined appeared to be of 1830 vintage or earlier. Therefore, until further acceptable authentication is offered, which would warrant a technically better edition, *The Journal of Jean Laffite* should be read only with extreme caution.

Loyola University, New Orleans

PETER J. CANGELOSI

RELUCTANT REBEL: The Secret Diary of Robert Patrick, 1861-1865. Edited by F. Jay Taylor. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959. xii, 271 pp. Illustrated, maps, appendix, index. \$5.00.)

Robert Patrick of Clinton, Louisiana, was a Confederate soldier who faithfully recorded what he saw and thought during the Civil War. Except for a brief stint in the battle of Shiloh, Patrick was not a combatant, and he forthright admits that he sought an easy position in the army. Most of his service was spent as a clerk in the Commissary and Quartermaster departments. Thus his diary illuminates the daily affairs of these rear-echelon divisions; and his observations support the complaints of Confederate fighting men that they were too often failed by the services of supply. Patrick charges frequent incompetence, favoritism, obstinacy, and drunkenness among his superiors. Possibly he exaggerates the evils, and one must recognize that the diarist's view was limited. Nevertheless, Patrick wrote with convincing candor and perceptiveness.

Patrick bears witness to the travail of the South. The overwhelming of her armies; the pillage of her homes and fields by troops of both sides; the waning of her will to resist; and the ultimate dissolution of her forces: these form his major theme. Yet Patrick's own story is not lost in the telling of the greater one; his chronicle is that of fullness given way to hunger, of strength to exhaustion, of health to sickness, and of confidence to despair. Pungent with comment on ill-favored Confederate leaders and with musing on his own amours, Patrick's diary is an authentic record of one man's experience in the supreme American experience.

Editor Taylor is to be commended for bringing out this interesting diary and for his excellent introduction and explanatory material.

Tulane University

CHARLES P. ROLAND

J. D. B. DeBOW, Magazinst in the Old South. By Ottis Clark Skipper. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1958. x, 269 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, appendix, index. \$5.00.)

In a little over twenty years (1846-1867), J. D. B. DeBow wrote and edited "some fifty thousand pages" of a "record of Southern resources and enterprises and of schemes for betterment and apprehensions." Although a champion of "lost causes"—slavery, the Confederacy, Southern industrialization, and profitable Southern publishing—DeBow yet managed, in spite of war, economic upheaval, and social revolution, to build a successful, profitable career and to leave a rich fund of information about life and business in the Old South.

Professor Skipper in surveying DeBow's career has made a notable contribution to Southern history. Faced with evaluating "some fifty thousand pages," much of it "appalling dull," Professor Skipper was bound to slight materials of interest to various specialists; and literary scholars, for example, who have used DeBow's *Review* will be somewhat disappointed with the brief attention given to literature. All should, however, be impressed with Professor Skipper's skill in the handling of the material and satisfied with the fairness of his total view.

The principal fault of the book, to my mind, is one that is perhaps inherent in the subject matter. In three chapters, Professor Skipper attempts to treat of the man DeBow rather than his works, but there is no consistent attempt to relate the total career with the total life. The three "biographical chapters" thus seem isolated from what is essentially a "bibliographical" study and disturb the focus of the book. This is a most informative book about the old South; it is not a "definitive biography" of James DeBow, who probably does not need one. DeBow, like Chaucer's Merchant, was a man whose activities affected the course of empire, but the humanist finds it a chore to remember his name. Professor Skipper has helped here. The name is James DeBow.

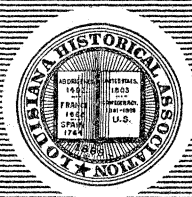
Southwestern Louisiana Institute

PAUL T. NOLAN

SPRING 1960
VOL. I, No. 2

LOUISIANA HISTORY

THE JOURNAL OF THE
LOUISIANA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION



THE LOUISIANA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

PRESIDENT

John S. Kyser, Northwestern State College

VICE-PRESIDENT

Joseph G. Tregle, Louisiana State University in New Orleans

SECRETARY-TREASURER

John C. L. Andreassen, State Archives & Records Commission

EXECUTIVE-SECRETARY

Kenneth Trist Urquhart, St. Mary's Dominican College

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Walter M. Lowrey, Francis T. Nicholls State College

A. L. Tatum, Northeastern State College

Mattie Gray Brown, Byrd High School, Shreveport

Raleigh Suarez, McNeese State College

Garnie William McGinty, Louisiana Polytechnic Institute

Sidney J. Romero, Southeastern Louisiana College

Edwin Adams Davis, Louisiana State University

Margaret M. Bradbury, Hamilton Terrace Junior

High School, Shreveport

Robert L. Crisler, Southwestern Louisiana Institute

Charles L. Dufour, *New Orleans States & New Orleans Item*

Kenneth Trist Urquhart, St. Mary's Dominican College

Colonel Henry B. Curtis, Washington Artillery, New Orleans

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

John S. Kyser, Joseph G. Tregle, John C. L. Andreassen,

Garnie W. McGinty, Charles L. Dufour

LOUISIANA HISTORY



Published quarterly by the
Louisiana Historical Association

in cooperation with

Louisiana State University



PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

Charles P. Roland, Tulane University
Raleigh A. Suarez, McNeese State College
Eugene P. Watson, Northwestern State College



MANAGING EDITOR

Edwin Adams Davis



ASSOCIATE EDITOR

A. Otis Hebert, Jr.



SPRING 1960 • Volume 1, No. 2

Louisiana History is distributed to members of the Louisiana Historical Association. Single copies, \$2.00. Membership in the Association: *Individual*—Student, \$2.00; Active, \$5.00; Family, \$6.00; Contributing, \$25.00; Sustaining, \$100.00; Life, \$1,000.00. *Associate Organizations*—Active, \$10.00; Sustaining, \$100.00; *Cooperating Agencies*—Active, \$10.00. *Contributing Corporations*—Active, \$25.00; Sustaining, \$500.00. Correspondence should be addressed to the Secretary-Treasurer, 155 East Airport Avenue, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Permission is granted to reprint any article or other material, either in whole or in part, provided credit is given to *Louisiana History* (including date citation). The Louisiana Historical Association disclaims responsibility for statements whether of fact or of opinion made by contributors.

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be addressed to the Managing Editor, *Louisiana History*, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Louisiana History is published quarterly by the Louisiana Historical Association at Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Second-class postage paid at Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Contents

	PAGE
The Lafourche District in 1861-1862: A Problem in Local Defense.....	99
<i>By Barnes F. Lathrop</i>	
Frances Benjamin Johnston and Her Views of Uncle Sam.....	130
<i>By John C. L. Andreassen</i>	
Henry Stuart Foote: A Republican Appointee in Louisiana.....	137
<i>By John Edmond Gonzales</i>	
Trips Up the River: 1855 and 1857.....	147
<i>Edited by Joe B. Frantz</i>	
Reconstruction in Louisiana: Three Letters.....	153
<i>Edited by Martin Abbott</i>	
Vignettes.....	158
Report on Second Annual Meeting.....	161
Notes and Comments.....	166
Book Reviews.....	174

Book Reviews:

	PAGE
Loos, <i>Oil on Stream! A History of the Interstate Oil Pipe Line Company</i> , by Paul H. Giddens.....	174
Dufour, <i>Gentle Tiger: The Gallant Life of Roberdeau Wheat</i> , by F. Jay Taylor.....	175
Turner, <i>George W. Cable: A Biography</i> , by Joe G. Taylor..	176
Williams (ed.), <i>With Beauregard in Mexico</i> , by Sidney Romero	177
Trefousse, <i>Ben Butler: The South Called Him BEAST!</i> , by W. Darrell Overdyke.....	178
Winzerling, <i>Acadian Odyssey</i> , by Harry Lewis Griffin.....	180
Posey, <i>The Baptist Church in the Lower Mississippi Valley, 1776-1845</i> , by Mattie Gray Brown.....	181
McIntire, <i>Prehistoric Indian Settlements of the Changing Mississippi River Delta</i> , by Fred Kniffen.....	182

The Lafourche District in 1861-1862: *A Problem in Local Defense*

By BARNES F. LATHROP

who is a member of the
History Department, University
of Texas

WESTWARD FROM NEW ORLEANS, across the Mississippi and the lakes beyond, lies the Lafourche district. Shaped like a tent, the district is bounded at the top by lands along the Mississippi, on the west by the Atchafalaya Basin, and below by the Gulf of Mexico. It was in 1861, as it is today, a bayou country, taking its very name from its central stream. Bayou Lafourche left the Mississippi eighty miles above New Orleans and flowed roughly parallel to the River one hundred and ten miles to the Gulf. The banks of the Bayou, like the banks of the Mississippi, were natural levees formed by sediment deposits from overflows. A mile or two wide on either side of the upper Bayou, and gradually narrowing farther down, these soil strips comprised the bulk of the land above swamp level in the two parishes of Assumption and Lafourche. The other principal bayous in the district were Terrebonne, Black, Blue, du Large, Chacahoula, Petit Caillou, and Grand Caillou, all in Terrebonne Parish. Individually or in conjunction their banks afforded land comparable in total extent to that in either of the parishes along Bayou Lafourche. Away from the margins of the larger bayous nearly the whole countryside was either cypress swamp or coastal marsh.

The Lafourche district possessed exceptional social as well as geographical uniformity. In all three parishes the leaders in wealth and influence were the large sugar planters, pre-

dominantly "Americans," while three-fourths or more of the free inhabitants were Acadian or other Creole small proprietors, tradesmen, artisans, fishermen, and hunters. With population amounting in 1860 to 19,923 whites, 315 free Negroes, and 21,276 slaves, the habitable land areas were so heavily settled that the banks of the principal streams resembled continuous villages. Assumption, the parent parish, had the highest proportion of small proprietors. Terrebonne, the youngest and most "American," had the highest proportion of slaves (56.1% of total population). Lafourche had at once the greatest number of very large plantations and the lowest proportion of slaves (45.5%). Lafourche and Terrebonne, coastal in their lower reaches, harbored most of the fishermen and hunters. Thibodaux, or Thibodeauxville, parish seat of Lafourche, was the only town within the district of any weight; its population was 1,380 in 1860. Assumption depended much upon Donaldsonville (population 1,475), parish seat of Ascension, located in the fork between the Mississippi and Bayou Lafourche. Napoleonville, parish seat of Assumption, was a mere village; Houma, parish seat of Terrebonne, had perhaps 600 inhabitants. The fact that Terrebonne did not lie on Bayou Lafourche had divorced it slightly from the other two parishes. From 1857 onward, however, Terrebonne and Lafourche shared in use of the New Orleans, Opelousas and Great Western Railroad, while Assumption and Lafourche continued their common enjoyment of the Bayou.

The railroad line, eighty miles in length, began at Algiers opposite New Orleans and ran up the Mississippi and across the Lafourche district to Brashear City (now Morgan City) on Berwick Bay. Along the line were Boutte Station, twenty-four miles above Algiers; Bayou des Allemands, at the entrance to the Lafourche district; Raceland, at the approach to Bayou Lafourche;¹ Lafourche Crossing, on the Bayou four miles below Thibodaux; Terrebonne (now Shriever), debarkation point for Houma and Thibodaux; Tigerville (now

¹ A branch track two miles long extended from Raceland station to the bank of the Bayou.

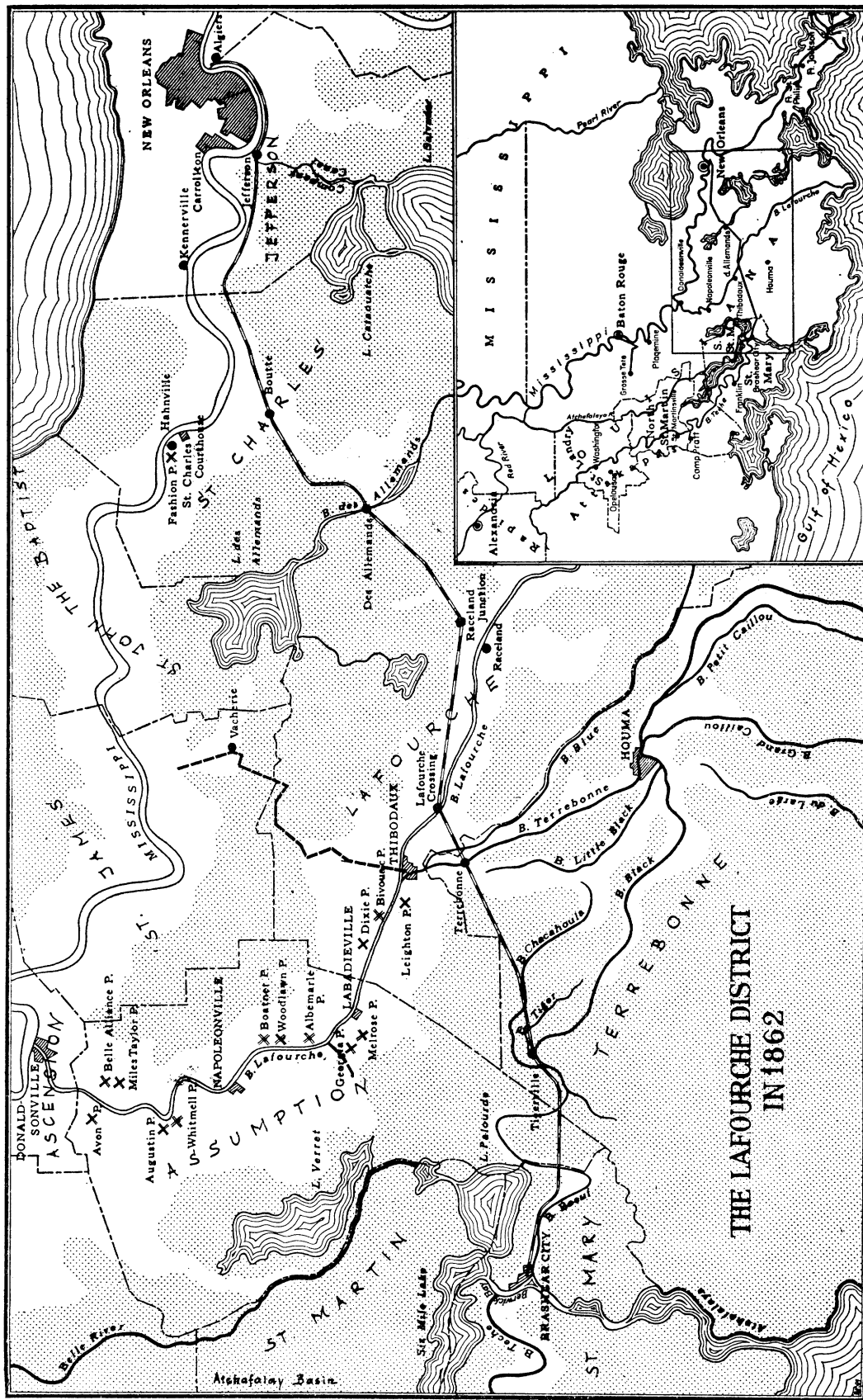


Fig. 13

Gibson²), at the junction of Bayou Tiger with Bayou Black; and Bayou Boeuf, a crossing seven miles east of Brashear City. In the coming war these stations—mere stopping points or clusters of a few buildings—would receive thousands of unwilling visitors and achieve minor fame as sites of camps, captures, and fights.

The fact that Bayou Lafourche ran south, while most through travel in the lower trans-Mississippi was east and west, denied the Lafourche district the fame that its remarkable features warranted. Few of the thousands who visited New Orleans by water, or of the scores who wrote about their visits, saw anything of Lafourche except the efflux of the Bayou from the Mississippi. With the opening of the rail line outsiders did begin to pass through the district, but they still hardly saw it, for the rail route lay mostly in cypress swamps and across, rather than along, the settled bayous. It was thus only natural that impressions varied greatly between those who first entered the district by rail and those who came down the Bayou. As numbers of Federal soldiers would soon testify, the visitor by rail felt himself in an endless timbered morass that provoked distaste, even a kind of fright; he remembered gray Spanish moss, exuberant, almost strangling vines, mats of floating vegetation, slime, black pools, cypress bolls, turtles, water moccasins, and, above all, alligators. The visitor who came down the Bayou found himself, by contrast, in an agricultural corridor so rich and beautifully tended that he might even debate whether it,

² The leading planter in the Tigerville neighborhood was Tobias Gibson of Oak Forest, a man much noticed by Federal soldiers during the war because his property enjoyed protection by a Federal guard while two of his sons, one a brigade commander, fought in the Confederate army. Homer B. Sprague, *History of the 13th Infantry Regiment of Connecticut Volunteers . . .* (Hartford, 1867), 183; Isaac H. Elliot, *History of the Thirty-Third Regiment Illinois Veteran Volunteer Infantry . . .* (Gibson City, Ill., 1902), 86; Albert O. Marshall, *Army Life in the Thirty-Third Illinois . . .* (2nd ed., Joliet, Ill., 1884), 397-398; Tobias Gibson to Hon. John Perkins, Jr., August 28, 1861, in Applications for Office, Archives of the Confederate States Department of State (the so-called "Pickett Papers," Library of Congress; Eugene M. Violette, "Randall Lee Gibson," Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (20 vols. and index, New York, 1928-1937), VII, 256-257. (Hereinafter cited as *DAB*.)

rather than the fabled Teche, deserved to be called "the garden of Louisiana."³

The fullest and most appreciative description of the upper Lafourche as it appeared during the Civil War was written by James K. Hosmer (1834-1927), Harvard graduate, Unitarian minister, and corporal in a Massachusetts regiment.⁴ His regiment camped briefly at Donaldsonville and then made an uneventful march in early spring down to Thibodaux and Terrebonne Station. On March 29, 1863, Hosmer said the landscape at Donaldsonville must

be very like Holland. The tents are pitched in a perfectly level field,—stretching, without a fence, far and wide, with only here and there a tree. Along one side of the field runs the bayou, behind its Levee. The water now brims up nearly to the edge of this Levee, though on the land side there must be a slope of six or eight feet from the top of the bank to the surface of the land. If an opening were made in the Levee, our camp would be instantly drowned by the rush of waters. Sloops and schooners of considerable tonnage sail up and down the bayou, and one full-sized clipper-ship lies at anchor just opposite us. To see these craft, we are obliged to look up. The water-line of the bayou is about on a level with our eyes; so that the hulls and rigging of the vessels are in the air, over our heads. . . .⁵

After the completion of his march down the Bayou, Hosmer summed up his observations in a journal entry of April 3, 1863.

We shall carry home a much more favorable impression as to the resources and civilization of this State than we

³ Federal soldiers almost unanimously praised the Teche country as the best part of Louisiana. Elias P. Pellet, *History of the 114th Regiment, New York State Volunteers* . . . (Norwich, N. Y., 1866), 64; Henry A. Shorey, *The Story of the Maine Fifteenth* . . . (Bridgton, Me., 1890), 72; Orton S. Clark, *The One Hundred and Sixteenth Regiment of New York State Volunteers* . . . (Buffalo, 1868), 130. Those adequately acquainted with the Lafourche thought it a strong second to the Teche. B. F. Stevenson, *Letters from the Army* (Cincinnati, 1884), 265, 275.

⁴ After the war Hosmer became a college professor, librarian and historian. Solon J. Buck, "James Kendall Hosmer," *DAB*, IX, 244-245.

⁵ James K. Hosmer, *The Color Guard: Being a Corporal's Notes on Military Service in the Nineteenth Army Corps* (Boston, 1864), 110-111.

should have had if we had not passed through this country of the La Fourche. From Donaldsonville to Terre Bonne, a distance of nearly forty miles, the aspect of the country varies but little. It is thickly peopled; the plantations succeeding one another as do the farms in any populous agricultural region of the North.

. . . On one side [as we marched] rose the slope of the Levee; ten or twelve feet high from the road, two or three from the water on the other side. . . . On our right . . . we passed, now houses of moderate size, bare of elegance—sometimes even squalid in appearance; now, again, mansions of comfortable look; and, not unfrequently, beautiful seats, set up high to preserve them from danger in case of a crevasse, with colonnades ornamented tastefully with orange groves and the glorious live-oak, with *trees* full of roses instead of bushes.

Plantation after plantation! Along the road were white palings, or often the pleasanter enclosure of a rose-tree hedge, with white roses all out, and the green of a richer depth than we know it. Sometimes the planter and his family looked out at us from behind a “protection” posted before them on the gate, seated upon the broad portico under the wide roof, beneath wide-spreading awnings, with open doors and windows behind. Then, between house and hedge, these marvellous gardens! Tall trees overhung them; with vines, sometimes nearly as thick as the trunks, twining, supple as serpents, from root to topmost bough—twining, hanging in loops, knotted into coils. Then, underneath, flowers white and delicate, adorned with dewy jewels, scented with odors incomparable; flowers uncouth and spiny; the cactus, not here exotic, but “to the manor born,” its gnarled and prickly stem thickly set with purple buds. The air would be pungent with sweetness as the column marched past.

Such tropic luxury of air and vegetation! These scents and zephyrs . . . bird-songs . . . broad palm-leaves . . . blossoms of crimson and saffron and white . . . perfume . . . all these, and I suppose, too, the foil to all these,—the miasma of the swamp close at hand, and the poisonous serpent lurking there.

When the garden was passed, generally we came to a

huge gate, upon and about which would be clustered the negro force of the whole estate, old and young. From this a road ran, down which, at the distance of a quarter of a mile perhaps, we could see the white chimneys of the sugar-mill; the village of negro cabins; then acres on acres of cane-field, stretching clear to the heavy forest on the verge of the horizon.⁶

Probably best among the small number of wartime descriptions that touched the Lafourche district below the railroad was a sketch by Charles C. Nott (1827-1916), colonel of the 176th New York Volunteers, who had occasion to ride from Terrebonne Station down Bayou Terrebonne to Houma within a few weeks of the time that Hosmer marched down Bayou Lafourche.⁷ The pronounced dissimilarity in tone between Nott and Hosmer reflected differences both in the observers and in the areas they had traversed.

It is not [wrote the New York colonel] a pleasant ride to Houma; the road runs along a bayou, as straight and stagnant as a canal. Occasionally there comes a boat, freighted with a dozen barrels of molasses or a few hogsheads of sugar, furrowing its way through the green scum that covers the water, and breaking down the rank-growing weeds that choke the channel. The vagabond-looking ponies that drag it along, travel on the "levee," which has the appearance of a tow-path, and makes the bayou look more than ever like a canal. This bayou is a hideous frog-pond, long drawn out, filled with black, slimy mud, and teeming with hideous reptiles. My horse starts as I ride beside it, and snuffs the tainted air nervously, for two turkey-buzzards fly up from the huge carcass of an alligator, and alight close beside me on a fence. Two more remain on the alligator, gorged so that they cannot rise. Their rough, dirty feathers remind one of the uncombed locks of a city scavenger. No one ever shoots them,

⁶ *Ibid.*, 115-117. Shorter and generally cooler descriptions of the Lafourche by other members of Hosmer's highly articulate regiment may be found in J. F. Moors, *History of the Fifty-Second Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers* (Boston, 1893), 98-106, *passim*.

⁷ Nott, a lawyer in New York City before the war, was appointed early in 1865 to the United States Court of Claims and served thereon for forty years. Robert E. Cushman, "Eliphalet Nott," *DAB*, XIII, 579-580.

but draws back and says, with unconcealed disgust, "What a foul bird that is."

Yet on the other side of the road, spreading back to the poisonous swamps in the rear, lie some of the rich plantations of Louisiana. There are the sugar-houses, with their heavy brick chimneys, as large and clumsy as those of a foundry; and near by stand the planter's house, the overseer's house, the engineer's house, and a little village of contraband cabins. The vast fields are cut up into square blocks by ditches, sometimes ten feet deep, reminding one of the graded lots in the outskirts of a city. On one side of each range of these blocks is a raised plantation road, which crosses the ditches on substantial bridges, and runs, perhaps for miles, arrow-like, as a railroad. It is probable that the plantation is surrounded by a levee, to keep the water out. The large ditches then empty into a canal, and at the end of this canal will be found a "pumping machine," driven by a steam engine, which pumps the plantation dry and keeps it above water. Such wealthful agriculture we have nowhere in the North.⁸

Traditionally conservative in temper, the Lafourche district had taken a prudent part, even a reluctant one, in the exciting public affairs of 1860-1861. Assumption and Lafourche were among the three Louisiana parishes that gave pluralities to Stephen A. Douglas, Northern Democrat, in 1860. Terrebonne Parish preferred John C. Breckinridge, Southern Democrat, but his margin over John Bell, Constitutional Unionist, was a single vote, and in the district as a whole the combined vote for Douglas and Bell, representing the more moderate positions in the sectional conflict, was

⁸ Eliphalet Nott, *Sketches in Prison Camps: A Continuation of Sketches of the War* (3rd ed., New York, 1865), 26-28. A. J. H. Duganne, *Camps and Prisons. Twenty Months in the Department of the Gulf* (3rd ed., New York, 1865), parallels Nott's sketches and devotes to the Lafourche district and Brashear City the most space accorded them (about 175 pages) in any Civil War narrative. See pp. 53-54 for his version of the above trip to Houma, or a similar one. Duganne, poet, novelist, controversialist, and miscellaneous writer, was the lieutenant colonel of the 176th New York. Unfortunately *Twenty Months in the Department of the Gulf*, though highly commended in George H. Genzmen, "A. J. H. Duganne," *DAB*, V, 492, and in E. M. Coulter, *Travels in the Confederate States, A Bibliography* (Norman, Okla., 1948), 80, is so glib, inaccurate, and opinionated that the student will be puzzled to know how far he can trust it.

twice that for Breckinridge. (The state-wide vote was 22,681 for Breckinridge, 20,204 for Bell, and 7,625 for Douglas.) In the secession convention the nine-man delegation from the Lafourche district unanimously preferred some form of coöperation to immediate secession by separate state action.⁹

When the war broke out only three companies of troops for Confederate service volunteered from the Lafourche district, and only one more had come forward by the end of the year. Indeed, down to February, 1862, the Lafourche district, in common with the other country parishes of the Creole region of southern Louisiana, had a volunteer record so bad that it was bound to shame any Confederate patriot who brought himself to contemplate it.¹⁰ Then a combination of forces, including the perilous military situation in the West after the fall of Fort Donelson and the magic name of Beauregard attached to "Soul-Stirring Appeals" for troops, brought about a wave of volunteering. Elise (Mrs. Braxton) Bragg, at home on Bivouac Plantation above Thibodaux, reported on March 3 to her husband, then a major general under Beauregard at Jackson, Tenn.: "There has been a great effort made here to get up companies. The fact they will be *drafted*¹¹ has helped the cause wonderfully. As usual, the worst officers possible are elected." A few days later she believed that Bragg would "soon command all the troops from this portion of the neighbourhood, including your friends the *Creoles*. They will make good troops, dearest. They are obedient, good marksmen, habituated to exposure,

⁹ Three voted for Rozier's conditional unionist resolution; all nine voted for Fuqua's cooperationist resolution; and two finally voted against the ordinance of secession. Ralph A. Wooster, "The Louisiana Secession Convention," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXXIV (April, 1951), 126, 127, 128, 129, 132.

¹⁰ Cf. *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, February 21, 1862, wherein "A Volunteer" tabulated the companies in active service from each parish of the state and pointed out the laggard areas.

¹¹ By "draft" Mrs. Bragg presumably meant compulsory state service, discussed in the sixth paragraph below. The Confederate conscription act was not recommended by the President until March 28, 1862, and not passed until April 16. U. S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (70 vols. in 128, Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. IV, Vol. I, 1031, 1095-1097. (Hereinafter cited as *Official Records*.)

& free from the besetting sin of our Confederacy, *drunkenness*. Generally[,] you know, they are very temperate. If once you can lead them into action, & be *successful*, you will be as *popular* as you are now unpopular. They say now, it is Beauregard who is drawing them forth, & under him they expect to fight.”¹² The Lafourche district quickly produced some eight companies, of which six went into a regiment organized at Berwick Bay and New Orleans in April, 1862, and denominated the Twenty-Sixth Louisiana.¹³

Besides calling for Confederate volunteers, the commencement of the war in April, 1861, had brought to life the question of local home defense. The existing militia organization rested upon an act of 1853 which grouped the parishes of the state into five divisions, each containing two brigades. Assumption and Lafourche Parishes, together with the River parishes of St. Charles, St. John the Baptist, St. James, and Ascension, comprised the first brigade of the second division. In defiance of geography, Terrebonne was grouped with the Teche parishes and three River parishes north of Ascension to form the second brigade. The first brigade was commanded by Brigadier General R. C. Martin (1813-1881) of Albemarle Plantation, the Assumption regiment by Colonel W. W. Pugh (1811-1906) of Woodlawn Plantation. The aggregate nominal strength of the regiments of the Lafourche district in 1859 was 1,660 officers and men in Assumption, 1,816 in Lafourche, and 1,212 in Terrebonne. Attached to some of the regiments were volunteer corps of cavalry or artillery.

¹² Elise Bragg to General Braxton Bragg, March 3, 12, 1862, Bragg Papers (Archives Collection, The Library of the University of Texas.) These Bragg Papers, some twenty-six pieces, are letters of Elise to her husband, 1855-1863. Mrs. Bragg's punctuation stops, sometimes periods and sometimes dashes of varying length, have all been transcribed as periods.

¹³ Winchester Hall, *The Story of the 26th Louisiana Infantry, in the Service of the Confederate States* (n. p., ca. 1891), 1-5, 151-153, 170-186, 193-199, 210-228. At this time a company from Lafourche Parish joined the Thirtieth Louisiana Volunteers. *Ibid.*; Napier Bartlett, *Military Record of Louisiana* . . . (New Orleans, 1875), Pt. II, 25. The "Darden Rangers," Captain Albert G. Cage, also principally from Lafourche, became Co. F in Woods' Cavalry Regiment. Elise Bragg to Braxton Bragg, April 15, 1862, Bragg Papers; service records of A. G. Cage and Richard G. Ellis, Jr., Andrew B. Booth (comp.), *Records of Louisiana Confederate Soldiers and Louisiana Confederate Commands* (3 vols., in 4, New Orleans, 1920), II, 214, 771.

The "Donaldsonville Cannoneers" of Ascension ranked with the "Washington Artillery" of New Orleans as the best corps in the state. In 1859 there were two companies of "Chasseurs" in St. James; within the Lafourche district were the "Lafourche Dragoons," Captain R. G. Darden, and the "Houma Rifles," Captain Joseph Aycock.¹⁴ On paper these militia forces appeared ample for home defense. Unfortunately, the organization which existed on paper did not exist in effective flesh. Some of the volunteer companies were active, at least by fits and starts, but the regular militia gave few if any signs of life.

For the first six months after the war began the movement for home defense appears to have taken the form of getting up neighborhood volunteer companies. The story of one such company may be gleaned from the diary of A. Franklin Pugh (1819-1883), a planter living on Boatner Plantation in Assumption Parish two and one-half miles below Napoleonville. On May 1, 1861, Pugh discussed a home company with his friend General Martin, the militia brigadier, and undertook a canvass of their vicinity. Results were at first disappointing. After a meeting at Rodrigue's store on Saturday, May 4, Pugh thought that thirty men would be obtained; but a meeting the next Tuesday to organize the "Home company for Home protection" was attended by not more than two or three persons and thus failed completely. Another meeting held at Blanchard's store on Sunday, May 12, evidently produced favorable results, for on Saturday, May 25, a company paraded in the pasture on Boatner Plantation.¹⁵

Pugh first recorded his own attendance on May 28; thereafter he went faithfully to weekly drills on Saturday. On July 13 he reported to drill "and returned after dark— We had the drum for the first time, which improved the marching considerably. We had the best turn out today, we have had in a long time thirty-odd being present—" On Aug-

¹⁴ Louisiana Adjutant General, *Annual Report*, January, 1858 (New Orleans, 1858), 5, 9-10, and January, 1860 (Baton Rouge, 1860), 5-6, 21-22.

¹⁵ Alexander Franklin Pugh, *Diary*, May 1, 2, 4, 7, 12, 25, 1861 (Department of Archives, Louisiana State University).

ust 17 the company, commanded by Captain William M. Marks, a school teacher, "resolved to form a company under the Laws of the State, Calling it self Hope Guards. Gen. Martin and Col. W. W. Pugh were present during the drill." On August 24 the officers received commissions, "and the non-commissioned officers were all elected. The comp[any] is now fully organized, counting 47 rank and file." Organization did not prove a tonic. Pugh feared September 14 that the "company will not last longer than a few weeks. It has but one above the legal number now, and none are joining, while the talk is that more will resign." His fears were not realized, however, for all but three showed up for drill October 5—the fullest attendance since the organization of the company. And company drill went on through the late fall.¹⁶

At the end of September, 1861, the governor of Louisiana issued an order intended to provide "effective organization" for the militia of the state.¹⁷ That the order met with at least a show of compliance in the Lafourche district appeared from a report in the Thibodaux *Sentinel* that the militia there was improving rapidly in military tactics, with attendance "generally large, and the officers faithful in the discharge of their duties."¹⁸ The Assumption regiment was apparently organized in battalions, one on the left (east) side of Bayou Lafourche and one or more on the right (west) side. Franklin Pugh's diary mentioned battalion drill on the left bank December 7 and 21, 1861, and January 18, 1862. The drill of December 21, in the pasture on Colonel W. W. Pugh's Woodlawn Plantation, was attended by five companies comprising about 150 men.

Under the governor's order persons attempting to evade

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, July 13, 20, 27, August 3, 10, 17, 24, 31, September 14, 28, October 5, 9, 19, 26, November 9, 23, 1861. Welman Francis Pugh, son of W. W. Pugh born October 30, 1847, observed October 10, 1861, that Mark's company drilled "very well according to my ideas, which are not matured." W. F. Pugh "Journal," 4, W. W. Pugh Papers (Archives Collection, The Library of the University of Texas).

¹⁷ Orders No. 1147, Headquarters Louisiana Militia, New Orleans, Louisiana, September 28, 1861, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. LIII, 744-745, or Ser. IV, Vol. I, 753.

¹⁸ New Orleans *Weekly True Delta*, November 16, 1861.

performance of militia duty were to be placed upon a black list and marked "as suspicious and enemies to the South." This coercive threat gave rise to an unhappy case in Assumption Parish. E. W. T. and Thomas S. Burbank, natives of New York and owners of Avon Plantation, informed the regimental commander, Colonel Pugh, that E. W. T. Burbank had been unjustly treated by the physician who refused to grant him a letter of exemption. Burbank, they said, was actually unfit for military duty. "I now place myself in you[r] hands onely [*sic*] wishing that you will do unto others as you would be done by."¹⁹ The reason for the Burbank brothers' excitement, although they did not say so, was a well-grounded fear that they would be regarded as "enemies to the South." The next year E. W. T. Burbank was to be arrested as a traitor.

The governor's effort to invigorate the militia was followed after four months by an act of the legislature prescribing numerous reforms. Rules to enforce performance of militia duty were made more stringent; the maximum term of active service was extended; volunteer companies were to be reconstituted and brought more closely under the control of the general officers; and divisional organization was dropped in favor of command by a single major general immediately under the governor and immediately over the brigadiers.²⁰ Elected to be major general was John L. Lewis, one-time mayor of New Orleans and veteran commander of the militia of the city.²¹

The new militia act had only begun to go into effect when Forts Henry and Donelson fell (February 6 and 16, 1862), sending shivers of unease the length of the Mississippi. During the ensuing weeks nearly all the Confederate troops at New Orleans, no matter how raw, were ordered northward

¹⁹ E. W. T. Burbank and Thomas S. Burbank to W. W. Pugh, November 14, 1861, W. W. Pugh Papers.

²⁰ Act No. 97, approved January 23, 1862, *Louisiana Acts*, 1861-1862, pp. 61-72. Some notion of the progress of the reorganization may be had from a notice in the *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, February 12, 17, 18, 19, 24, 1862.

²¹ For Lewis' ante-bellum career see John Smith Kendall, *History of New Orleans* (3 vols., Chicago and New York, 1922), I, 182-197, 217, 218.

to reënforce Beauregard.²² This loss obliged the commander of the defenses of New Orleans, Major General Mansfield Lovell, to requisition state volunteers and militia.²³ Governor Thomas O. Moore had already ordered one New Orleans brigade to report for active service, and three more were directed to hold themselves in readiness.²⁴

Concurrently with the preparations in New Orleans, the state commander of militia, Major General Lewis, ordered Brigadier General Martin of the Fifth Brigade (formerly First Brigade, Second Division) to call for sixteen companies of "Volunteers for State service" from the several parishes of the brigade. Each company was to comprise four commissioned officers, nine non-commissioned officers, and not less than sixty privates. Six companies were to come from Assumption Parish and five from Lafourche, while Ascension was to furnish two companies and the other three River parishes only one each; the orders did not explain the marked inequalities in the demands made upon the several parishes. If enough men had not volunteered within ten days, then numbers sufficient to make up the companies required of each parish were to be detached from the parish regiment.

In detailing men Martin was instructed to take "care to detach, as much as practicable, the greater number from those beats in the parishes, which have furnished the smaller number to the provisional army." These orders Martin embodied in his own General Orders No. 2, February 28, 1862, directing the colonels of his command to make the

²² *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 513, 561, 641, 647, 648, 823-847 *passim*, 864, 871, 877. Most of these documents may also be found in U. S. Navy Department, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (30 vols. and index, Washington, 1894-1927), Ser. II, Vol. I. (Hereinafter cited as *Official Records . . . Navies*.)

²³ General Lovell's requisition to Governor Moore called for 10,000 men; apparently he secured not more than 5,000. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 513, 561, 595, 620, 648-649, 652, 832, 837, 847, 864; *Official Records . . . Navies*, Ser. II, Vol. I, 624; Louisiana Adjutant General [M. Grivot], *Annual Report*, December 10, 1862, in Napier Bartlett, *A Soldier's Story of the War Including the Marches and Battles of the Washington Artillery, and of Other Louisiana Troops* (New Orleans, 1874), 259; Louisiana Adjutant General, *Annual Report*, 1891 (New Orleans, 1892), 40-41.

²⁴ Orders No. 135, February 23, and No. 158, February 25, in *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, February 26, 1862.

detachments necessary to fill up the companies required from their regiments.²⁵ This onerous duty Colonel W. W. Pugh of Assumption had to perform in Napoleonville on March 13, 1862.²⁶ The sequel was most unfortunate, for after the detail had been made and reported there came a reply from militia headquarters that the men were needed only if armed, which they were not. According to Colonel W. W. Pugh, Commander of the Assumption Regiment, the incident "produced great demoralization among the militia and dissatisfaction with their Colonel, as they ignorantly attributed all their troubles to him and openly charged that the whole movement had its origin in a desire to force them into the Confederate, and not the state service as was represented by orders from Headquarters."²⁷ This was but the first of a series of grave misunderstandings between Governor Moore and the militia of the Lafourche district.

The unease of Louisianians in the early months of 1862 was not directed solely toward the north. The menace of an attack from the sea was known to be growing. The attack if it came would be aimed at New Orleans, and the Confederate defenses were designed to protect the city. Possible water or water-and-rail approaches to New Orleans, aside from the main approach up the River, were numerous and well-known. Several of the approaches bordered upon or traversed the Lafourche district. The first west of the mouths of the Mississippi was Baratavia Bay (made famous by the pirate Laffite), which was protected by Fort Livingston, on Grand Terre Island. The next approach was Bayou Lafourche itself. A hostile force could ascend the Bayou to Raceland or to Lafourche Crossing and proceed thence by the railroad against New Orleans; or it might ascend all the way to Don-

²⁵ Newspaper clipping, R. C. Martin Papers (in private possession). The orders are dated Headquarters Fifth Brigade Louisiana Militia, Albermale, Louisiana, and signed by R. C. Martin, Jr., aide-de-camp. The third section enjoined obedience to Lewis' General Orders No. 5, which directed commanders of volunteer units to report names and residences of persons resigning from their units in order that such persons might be returned to the regular militia.

²⁶ A. F. Pugh, Diary, March 13, 1862: "Went up to Napoleonville, where they were detailing men for the army."

²⁷ Colonel W. W. Pugh to Brig. Gen. R. C. Martin, July 8, 1862, R. C. Martin Papers.

aldsonville and come out on the Mississippi. To prevent any such venture—and perhaps to meet a petition of Lafourche Parish for protection—a little work called Fort Guion had been erected on the lower Bayou in the fall of 1861.²⁸ West of Bayou Lafourche lay Bayou Grand Caillou, which also gave access by water to the rail line. Grand Caillou was blocked by Fort Quitman, a twin of Fort Guion. Quitman and Guion were earthworks extending “from swamp to swamp on either side of the bayous,” each garrisoned in January, 1862, with two companies supplied with two 32-pounders and 1,000 pounds or more of powder.

West of Lafourche and Grand Caillou, and more important than either, was Berwick Bay, entrance to the Teche and the Atchafalaya and the maze of waterways in the Atchafalaya Basin. From Berwick Bay it was possible not only to ascend the Teche but also to reach Red River and the Mississippi by water. Alternatively, Brashear City, on the east side of the Bay, could be used as a base of attack by railroad against New Orleans. Berwick Bay was protected by two works, Forts Berwick and Chêne, built with assistance from the railroad company, which also worked with the military authorities to erect a telegraph line connecting Berwick Bay with Algiers.²⁹ Against attack from New Orleans or from the north the Lafourche district was without any defense save its very raw militia.

On the anniversary of Fort Sumter, April 12, 1862, the people of the Lafourche district had been at war for one year, or so they thought. The truth was that neither their minds nor their bodies yet knew the realities of war. Throughout 1861 the war to them remained a political crisis still open to quick and happy solution. War activities and war disloca-

²⁸ Historical Records Survey, Louisiana, *Inventory of the Parish Archives of Louisiana*, No. 29 *Lafourche Parish* (Baton Rouge, 1942), 7.

²⁹ *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 560, 574, 582, 583, 594, 774-775, 804-805, 819; extracts from the minutes of the board of directors of the New Orleans, Opelousas, and Great Western Railroad Company, May 22, August 27, September 10, 1861, in “Forfeiture of Lands Granted for Railroad Purposes,” *House Executive Document* No. 101, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., 42-43. For a summary of the general problem of the defense of New Orleans see Jefferson Davis Bragg, *Louisiana in the Confederacy* (Baton Rouge, 1941), 97-106.

tions existed, to be sure. But most of life at home ran in customary grooves, while sons and husbands gone to the distant war were few and their peril slight. Eighteen hundred and sixty-two was to bring home war in dreadful earnest, first in the form of ceaseless anxiety and hatred after the fall of New Orleans, then by enemy conquest of the Lafourche district itself.

On April 18, 1862, the mortar flotilla of the Federal fleet began to bombard the forts (Jackson and St. Philip) that guarded the Mississippi above its mouth; on April 24 the forts were passed; on April 25 New Orleans fell to the fleet without a fight; and on May 1 the city was occupied by Federal troops under Benjamin Franklin Butler of Massachusetts, major general commanding the Department of the Gulf.

For the Lafourche district the fall of "the City" was a blow stunning both by its suddenness and by its weight. What was worse, the fall of the Lafourche threatened to follow hard upon the fall of New Orleans. The River up to Baton Rouge passed immediately under control of the Federal fleet; thus Donaldsonville, at the head of Lafourche, was at the mercy of Federal guns. A force landed there to move down the Bayou could be met, if met at all, only by militia.

In Assumption Parish a mass meeting under the presidency of Miles Taylor, former member of the United States Congress, assembled on April 28 to consider the crisis. Taking for granted that "the country in the Delta of the Mississippi is without any adequate means of defense," and that the public enemy "may be soon in the military possession of Lower Louisiana," the meeting resolved that

all the local officers charged under existing laws with the preservation of the peace of the community and with the police of our slaves, and of the levees, are admonished of the necessity of an efficient administration and enforcement of all of those laws in the present state of things; and that they are hereby requested to exercise an increased vigilance and enregy [energy] in the administration and enforcement of the same, until they are hindered in the discharge of their

duties by the exercise or display of an opposing physical force.³⁰

Should the enemy take possession of the country, and "in violation of the laws and usages of war . . . fail to respect all the private rights of property under our laws . . . [then] all the members of this meeting urge every citizen [as an imperative public duty] to destroy all of the sugar or cotton held by him, or any other property he might have, which was liable to fall into the possession of the enemy, and could be made useful to him." Presumably the rights of property included the right to own slaves and to enjoy their undisturbed use; but upon this point the resolutions were not explicit. In conclusion the meeting ordered its resolutions to be published and recommended them to the "favorable consideration, of the people of the adjoining Parishes."³¹

The lower parishes, Lafourche and Terrebonne, which might have been momentarily more secure than Assumption, were in fact even more vulnerable. The reason was that the modest defenses of the Lafourche district, pointed toward the coast, and designed entirely with a view to blocking approaches to New Orleans, simply collapsed when the city fell by frontal attack. Mansfield Lovell, Confederate commander, was intent upon concentrating his forces. Believing that the enemy would, by seizing the railroad, cut off the garrisons of the coastal works, he ordered them to destroy their guns and join him with their small arms and supplies at Camp Moore on the Jackson railway seventy-eight miles above New Orleans. The troops from Berwick Bay were brought away "in a very creditable manner, but those at the other works became demoralized, disbanded, and returned to New Orleans."³²

³⁰ Undated newspaper clipping, presumably from the Napoleonville *Assumption Pioneer*, W. W. Pugh Papers. The committee that prepared the resolutions consisted of thirteen planters, seven Creoles and six Americans, including A. F. Pugh, Walter J. Pugh, and Colonel W. W. Pugh.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² General Mansfield Lovell to General S. Cooper, Adjutant and Inspector General, Richmond, Virginia, May 22, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 515. For later repetitions of the substance of this statement see *ibid.*, 567-656.

The apparent ease with which New Orleans fell, and the prompt removal of defending forces from the Lafourche district, must have produced in the people of that area misgivings about the commander responsible, even had he been trusted. And Lovell, the commander actually in question, had probably never excited much confidence. An official in the government of New York City until September, 1861, he had joined the Confederacy at the rank of major general and been assigned immediately to command Department No. 1, headquarters New Orleans. Jealousy and suspicion of him were, under the circumstances, only to be expected. Braxton Bragg, who felt the New Orleans command should have been his, conceded that Lovell was "very competent," but believed that he had waited to be bought and to see which side was likely to win.³³

Elise Bragg—who fairly matched her husband's celebrated censoriousness, and tended to look upon other Confederate generals as his unworthy rivals—wrote him March 12, 1862, that "Lovell is more & more distrusted persons are open & plain in the expression of their opinions of him—it will in time of danger, be followed by *open mutiny*." On April 20, while Forts Jackson and St. Philip were under Federal attack, she remarked that if the forts fell Lovell "had better look to his own life. When women say they hope he may be swung as high as Haman, *men* are not apt to be more punctilious. He has had every opportunity every resource & until lately when forced into it by public threatening has done nothing." After the catastrophe she heard, so she reported May 9, that Lovell was at Vicksburg "to enact another farce" like that at New Orleans; "his officers wont obey his orders, & threaten to shoot him. I wish they would." As a counterweight to the malice of Mrs. Bragg one must bear in mind that a court of inquiry found that Lovell could not

³³ Braxton Bragg to Thomas O. Moore, October 31, November 14, 1861, in G. P. Whittington (ed.), "Papers of Thomas O. Moore, Governor of Louisiana, 1860-1864," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XIII (January, 1930), 29-31. From Bivouac Plantation, October 13, 1861, Mrs. Bragg complained that Lovell had been given the "important command of two states" while Bragg was "confined to the petty province of Pensacola."

have prevented the enemy's passage of the forts, "with any means under his control," that once the forts were passed "the fall of New Orleans was inevitable and its evacuation a military necessity," and that Lovell's conduct had been in the main praiseworthy.³⁴

The evacuation of the coastal defenses west of the Mississippi by Lovell's orders had left the parishes of Lafourche and Terrebonne wide open to incursions, and Federal forces promptly prepared to make them. On May 1, the day New Orleans was occupied, Colonel James W. McMillan, Twenty-First Indiana Volunteers, debarked across the River in Algiers, assumed possession of the Opelousas Railroad, and quartered his regiment in its depot. Employees of the railroad refused to work under military authority, but McMillan met this problem by operating trains with soldier crews until the road was restored to the company on May 8. The company then began regular runs of mixed trains (freights with passenger cars attached) and "engaged in the transportation of troops and munitions of war along the whole line."³⁵ A few days later the telegraph lines radiating from New Orleans, including the one along the railroad to Thibodaux and Berwick Bay, and another to Donaldsonville, were placed under a military superintendent who worked vigorously to repair whatever damage they had suffered.³⁶

From Algiers as a base Colonel McMillan on May 5 went

³⁴ *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 642. The proceedings of the court occupy pages 554-654 in this volume. Also relevant is the report of a congressional investigation of the Confederate Navy Department, *Official Records* . . . *Navies*, Ser. II, Vol. I, 431-809.

³⁵ New Orleans, Opelousas, and Great Western Railroad Co., Eleventh Annual Report," January, 1863, in "Forfeiture of Lands Granted for Railroad Purposes," *House Executive Document* No. 101, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., 47; A. B. Seger to Maj. Gen. N. P. Banks, January 12, 1863, N. P. Banks Papers (The Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.), printed in the Fifteenth Company's *Annual Report*, January, 1867 (New Orleans, 1867), 9; George C. Harding, "Shifting Scenes from the Drama of the Late War," *Miscellaneous Writings* (Indianapolis, 1882), 270.

³⁶ George N. Carpenter, *History of the Eighth Regiment Vermont Volunteers* . . . (Boston, 1886), 37; G. G. Benedict, *Vermont in the Civil War* . . . (2 vols., Burlington, 1886-1888), II, 88-89. Apparently the Confederates had left the line to Berwick Bay open throughout, or at least as far west as Terrebonne Station. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 657.

the length of the railroad without meeting resistance.³⁷ At Berwick Bay he captured two small field pieces with ammunition, broke up a nascent military organization, and brought off two citizens who persistently insulted his troops.³⁸ Four days later Elise Bragg wrote her husband, then at Corinth, Miss.:

We have had several visits from the Yankees. On Wednesday [May 7] a detachment came to Thibodeaux searching for arms & ammunition. They brought a cannon but said it was unnecessary trouble as they could have taken the town with *brick-bats*. They asked for the keys of the court house & jail, broke upon [*sic*] several public halls in their search but otherwise were orderly [and] quiet, disturbed no private property or thing.

.

One of Mrs. [V.P.] Winder's negroes walked to the depot [at Terrebonne Station], & asked them to take him off. Mr. Beauvais [the railroad agent] seized him before them, & marched him back to his mistress. I don't envy him his punishment. They made her very angry by remarking, her new house was a delightful place to eat their summer dinners at. They say they will return in a little while to seize cattle. They can't stand *Texas* beeves & prefer *fat cows*. Every one near the depot is sending the stock back to the swamps. I dare say emboldened by no resistance whatsoever, they will prove very troublesome. What *we* are to do is the question.

³⁷ James Parton credits not McMillan but a party under J. B. Kinsman of Butler's staff with the "first dash" into the Lafourche country, the purpose being to rescue the families of Union men who had themselves already fled to New Orleans. At the courthouse in the "city of Lafourche" (evidently Thibodaux) Kinsman met the leaders of the district, who told him "We are united as one man against you," to which he responded that "if one more Union man is harmed in Lafourche, the town will be burned to the last shed." James Parton, *General Butler in New Orleans* (4th ed., New York, 1864), 561-562, 583. This story, which Parton presumably picked up in talks with Butler and his staff in 1863, is in substance not implausible, but contemporary confirmation is wanting.

³⁸ General B. F. Butler to E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War, May 8, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 506. Negroes assisted in turning up a modest cache of military equipment at Des Allemands. Harding, *Miscellaneous Writings*, 270. Harding adds that "whatever success attended our scouting and foraging expeditions, was mainly due to the alacrity with which the darkeys gave us information. They almost universally showed themselves willing and anxious to benefit us in every possible way."

We can get nothing from the City, & no place is provided with provisions. The households have no supplies. We have no rice, flour &c &c—as those are merely personal privations, they do not concern us.³⁹

Even as Mrs. Bragg wrote, Colonel McMillan was back in the Lafourche district on a special mission. Detraining with sixty-five men at Terrebonne Station the evening of May 8, he commanded mules and carts and proceeded during the night some twenty or twenty-five miles through the heart of Terrebonne Parish and down Bayou Grand Caillou, where he captured what he had come for, the blockade runner *Fox*, laden with fifteen tons of gun powder, medicines, quick-silver, and stores.⁴⁰

McMillan's visit had for Terrebonne a most bitter aftermath.⁴¹ According to the Federal version, McMillan's downward passage through Houma about 2 a.m. May 9 was followed later in the morning by a meeting of the Terrebonne militia to decide upon a means of thwarting McMillan. The meeting broke up without accomplishing its purpose. Late that afternoon or the next afternoon, however, four of McMillan's soldiers returning to the railroad in wagons were way-laid by a small armed band just south of Houma. Butler reported that the soldiers were sick and lay asleep in the wagons; but they also carried dispatches. Two of them were killed and two wounded, one of the wounded being captured. The dead were, by Federal account, "brutally and disgustingly abused" and then buried in a shallow hole "directly in front of the court-house, and in the most frequented place of the town." The captured man was kept in jail for the night

³⁹ Elise Bragg to Braxton Bragg, March 9, 1862, Bragg Papers.

⁴⁰ B. F. Butler to E. M. Stanton, May 16, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 424; Harding, *Miscellaneous Writings*, 274-282. Cf. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 656-658; *Private and Official Correspondence of General Benjamin F. Butler during the Period of the Civil War* (5 vols., Norwood, Mass., 1917), II, 99.

⁴¹ Except as otherwise indicated, the four paragraphs following are based upon Butler to Stanton, June 1, 1862, and Lt. Col John A. Keith to General B. F. Butler, May 22, 1862, with enclosures, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 447-448, 450-457. The story of Keith's punitive expedition is recounted with great relish in Parton, *General Butler in New Orleans*, 563-565. "Seldom, in the annals of warfare, do we find an account of a piece of work better done." In the same vein is Duganne, *Twenty Months in the Department of the Gulf*, 54.

"in the same cell with a negro under sentence . . . to the State prison for life." Next morning he was disarmed and released on parole. The other wounded soldier was, after various adventures, reclaimed on May 11 by a party from his regiment sent to Thibodaux for that purpose.

Federal forces of retribution, some 300 men under Lieutenant Colonel John A. Keith of McMillan's regiment, arrived in Houma at 10 a.m. May 12. Keith found the town "almost deserted, at least three-fourths of the citizens having fled upon the previous day, many of them taking such of their effects as they could readily move," others leaving all behind.⁴² The people who had not fled would not talk. To overcome their reluctance Keith issued May 14 a proclamation declaring that unless the "murderers" were named and their hiding places revealed within forty-eight hours

not a vestige of the town of Houma shall be left to identify its former location, and the plantations in the parish of Terre Bonne shall suffer in like degree.

.

The United States troops will quarter in Terre Bonne Parish until these murderers are brought to justice or it becomes evident they cannot be found; in which case prominent citizens of Houma, known to have been sympathizers, some of whom have already been arrested, will be publicly executed as murderers.

The proclamation produced information or misinformation to satisfy Keith. Among the active participants were said to be Albert Wood (evidently Thomas A. Woods), lawyer, editor of the Houma *Ceres*; Frank W. Gatewood, a small planter who had killed his brother-in-law in Assumption Parish the year before;⁴³ J. L. Jennings, a local physician; the sons of

⁴² A year later the colonel of a New York regiment observed that Houma looked "somewhat like a deserted village." Nott, *Sketches in Prison Camps*, 28.

⁴³ A. F. Pugh, *Diary*, March 13-16, 1861; Mrs. E. S. Gatewood to W. W. Pugh, April 5, 1861, W. W. Pugh Papers.

J. B. Bond, a planter interested in politics;⁴⁴ an overseer and a carpenter from the plantation of George F. Connelly, member of the convention of 1861; the deputy clerk of court; and a grocer's son, a planter's son, a blacksmith, and an ex-lieutenant.⁴⁵

When Keith descended upon Connelly's Mulberry Farm in search of one of the "murderers" he was defiantly told by Connelly's family that they

were deeply interested in the rebellion; that they were anxious for the frustration of the object of Colonel McMillan's expedition; that with their consent and approbation the men on their estate had engaged in the attempt to defeat him; that with their knowledge and assistance the men had eluded our pursuit; that they held no allegiance to the . . . United States, and neither desired nor claimed its protection. Thereupon the mules, cattle, and horses belonging to the plantation . . . were taken and conveyed to Houma.

In the end, none of the "murderers" could be found. Keith therefore had to content himself with burning the dwellinghouse, sugar house, Negro cabins, and all other buildings on Bond's Crescent Plantation, and seizing the plantation stock; destroying the *Ceres* shop and dumping the type into the bayou; and burning the residence of the deputy clerk and the residence and library of Dr. J. L. Jennings. Most of the other "guilty parties" possessed no property.

⁴⁴ J. B. Bond to W. W. Pugh, October 14, 1861, W. W. Pugh Papers.

⁴⁵ Bond and Connelly, and Colonel J. B. Robinson, who had been active "in inciting parties to go in pursuit of Colonel McMillan's force," were planters of large property: Bond, \$52,000 in real estate, \$137,400 in personal estate, 115 slaves in 1860; Connelly, \$66,000 in real estate, \$208,000 in personal estate, 94 slaves; Robinson, \$120,000 in real estate, \$157,600 in personal estate, 89 slaves. All or nearly all the other persons mentioned were young men: Woods, twenty-seven in 1860; Gatewood, twenty-two; Jennings, twenty-nine; Bond's two sons, fourteen and twenty-one; Connelly's overseer, thirty-one; the deputy clerk (a native of Guadeloupe), twenty-four; the planter's son (whose father was a native of Maine), nineteen; and the blacksmith, twenty-six. U. S. Eighth Census, 1860, manuscript returns for Terrebonne Parish of Schedule 1, Free Inhabitants, Families No. 75, 163, 189, 194, 212, 260-262, 312, 322, and Schedule 2, Slave Inhabitants, pp. 15-17, 17-18, 23. (Returns of both schedules in The National Archives; microfilm copies in The Library of the University of Texas.)

The brick parish jail in which the Federal prisoner had been degraded by incarceration with a Negro was battered to the ground. The United States flag raised atop the courthouse was to remain flying "under penalty of the destruction of the town in case of its removal." Keith revoked his proclamation threatening execution of hostages and departed May 17, taking with him fourteen hostages and an assortment of live stock including mules worth \$15,000 or \$20,000.⁴⁶

The Houma incident displayed vividly the abject helplessness of the Lafourche district; and its tone of terrorism was well calculated to convince the people that any attempt to organize resistance would be brutally crushed before it could become effective. The example sank home. Though depredations by Federal forces were soon to be stopped temporarily, all efforts to prepare a stout defense against invasion and occupation were to be impeded by a gnawing sense of futility and an expectation of swift and harsh retribution.

An abortive Confederate plan to rally the Lafourche district followed close upon the Houma incident. Lovell wrote Governor Moore May 17 that he had ordered "one good company" (apparently of the Thirtieth Louisiana) to proceed from Camp Moore to Thibodaux if they could cross the River. Once in the Lafourche the company might secure support from forces west of Berwick Bay and provide a nucleus around which militia and partisan rangers could gather. It would then be possible to destroy the railroad "and clear out the small parties of the enemy who are roving through that portion of the State with a careless impudence that is astonishing."⁴⁷ Actually the company was not sent, no gathering of local forces took place, and none of the three or more per-

⁴⁶ The hostages included the sheriff and the parish recorder; two sons of W. J. Minor, one of the great planters of the South; two planters of rather modest property; two merchants; and a physician, a grocer, and a livery-stable keeper. The detention of the Minors, and presumably of the others, lasted only a few days. *Ibid.*, Schedule 1, Families No. 183, 184, 186, 213, 219, 384, 841, and Schedule 2, pp. 28-29, 45; J. Carlyle Sitterson, "The Transition from Slave to Free Economy on the William J. Minor Plantations," *Agricultural History*, XVII (October, 1943), 216-217.

⁴⁷ *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 739.

sons authorized to recruit partisan rangers succeeded in doing so.⁴⁸

Governor Moore at Opelousas had in the meantime reported to President Jefferson Davis the Federal capture of the *Fox* and Keith's taking of citizens as hostages from Terrebonne. These misfortunes were traceable, Moore implied, to premature withdrawal of the Confederate garrison from Fort Quitman on Grand Caillou. The evacuation of the fort had, moreover, been so mismanaged that the officers responsible ought to be cashiered or shot. Instead of saving munitions, they had spiked the guns and dumped the powder into the bayou eleven days before the first appearance of the enemy.⁴⁹ Part of Moore's letter, without signature, was sent to Lovell for comment. To the complaint concerning the withdrawal of the garrison Lovell replied that it was true the enemy did not go down at once, but if the men had been left in the fort the enemy most certainly could have taken them any day. To a charge that the Lafourche district had been left wide open to the enemy, with railroad and telegraph uninterrupted, Lovell answered:

I had no force to protect the people in that district of country, but sent an officer to raise a partisan corps for that purpose, yet the prominent citizens earnestly entreated that the corps should not be raised there unless I could send a large body of troops to protect them from the additional outrages to which they would be subject from the Yankees for having raised such a corps. Having no large force to send, and objections being raised to a small one, I countermanded the order.

The fact is that that part of the country is inhabited by two classes of people—the rich, fearful of their property and

⁴⁸ One of those who sought to raise a partisan company was Thomas A. Woods, mentioned in connection with the Houma incident; another was F. S. Goode, also of Terrebonne, who had been a "secession" candidate for the convention in 1861 and was to be attorney general of Confederate Louisiana in 1864. *Ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 739, 741, 773, Vol. LIII, 814; Captain J. A. McWaters to Brig. Gen. R. C. Martin or Colonel W. W. Pugh, August 5, 1862, R. C. Martin Papers.

⁴⁹ Thomas O. Moore to Jefferson Davis, May 21, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 657-658, Vol. XV, 740-741.

not anxious to resist unless supported by an army in every parish; and the poor, miserable mixed-breed, commonly called Dagos or Acadians, on whom there is not the slightest dependence to be placed . . . When I urged that the bridges over [*sic*] the railroad be destroyed, a parish delegation entreated that it be not done, as it would bring down upon them Yankee vengeance. . . . Moreover, if the railroad had been destroyed, the stage of water was such that free access could have been had to Thibodeaux through Bayou La Fourche. I therefore concluded, at the request of many of the most influential citizens, to delay operations until the subsiding water should have deprived the enemy of the means of entering the interior at pleasure.

Had a contrary course been pursued the whole country would have been devastated without a possibility of preventing it. Nine out of every ten persons from that part of the country warmly approved of my decision.⁵⁰

Lovell's decisions were certainly defensible, and from the point of view of his whole command they may have been wise. But his argument was deceptive because he glossed over the sequence of events and overestimated the enemy. When New Orleans was falling his purpose was to save his troops in the Lafourche district for employment on the east side of the River. If he had actually been troubled about the Bayou country, he could have made dispositions promising a very fair chance of warding off any attack the enemy was willing to try at once. Instead he chose evacuation. After the spectacle of retiring garrisons, partly demoralized, after enemy incursions, and after a liberal dose of terrorism, it was not astounding that among the people the prudential spirit overbore the heroic. The passivity and fear that Lovell encountered when he tried to rally the Lafourche country in mid-May were in no small measure a result of his abandonment of the country three weeks before.

Discouraging the enemy from making free of the Lafourche district was to prove much easier, however, than might have

⁵⁰ General Mansfield Lovell to G. W. Randolph, Secretary of War, June 19, 1862, with an indorsement by Jefferson Davis, *ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 656-657.

been expected. Butler did not feel strong enough to disperse large forces permanently outside New Orleans, and professed himself averse to temporary seizures because the Confederates would destroy the property of innocent owners in advance of a Federal march, and because at any place taken and then left by his men "a few ruffians come in and maltreat every person who has not 'scowled at the Yankees.'" ⁵¹ With Butler in this cautious and humane frame of mind, a company of Louisiana state troops from west of Berwick Bay managed a counter-stroke along the railroad. On May 26 the St. Martin Rangers, Captain E. W. Fuller,

acting under orders of the general commanding the ninth brigade of Louisiana militia, came to the Bayou Boeuf crossing, took possession of the down train, came down to Jefferson station [nine miles above Algiers], took up a portion of the track, and returned to Berwick's bay, taking with them the rails, and picking up on their way all the rolling stock between that point and Brashear City, [amounting to three locomotives and about half the passenger and freight cars of the railroad,] together with most of the freight at the way stations and that in transit by the trains, and burning the draw of the Des Allemands bridge, the permanent bridge over the Lafourche, and a portion of that over the Boeuf. ⁵²

Fuller's troops also cut the Mississippi River levee some thirteen miles above Algiers. The intended inundation of part of the railroad was apparently achieved, but Butler reported the crevasse soon under control. ⁵³

An incidental fruit of Fuller's raid was the capture of James W. Connelly, lieutenant in the Twenty-First Indiana. Connelly hit upon a hazardous time to fall into Confederate hands, for Governor Moore and Southerners generally were by then in a state of apoplectic fury at Federal behavior in

⁵¹ B. F. Butler to E. M. Stanton, June 1, 1862, *ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 448-449.

⁵² New Orleans, Opelousas, and Great Western Railroad Company, "Eleventh Annual Report," January, 1863, *House Executive Document* No. 101, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., 47.

⁵³ Louisiana Adjutant General, *Annual Report*, December 10, 1862, in Bartlett, *Washington Artillery*, 256; Harding, *Miscellaneous Writings*, 273; *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 449.

Louisiana as directed by General Butler, whose execution of William B. Mumford, promulgation of the "Woman Order," and other provocative acts were thought to prove him a malevolent beast reveling in calculated violations of law and decency.⁵⁴ When Connelly was brought to Opelousas, the temporary state capital, Governor Moore wrote President Davis that the prisoner had been

conspicuous in burning the property of our citizens in Terre Bonne Parish, and has exhibited a fiendish alacrity in executing the atrocious orders of Butler and his subordinate officers. In retaliating for this brutal murder of Mumford, which I take for granted will be done, it occurs to me that no more propitiatory sacrifice to his memory can be made than the condemnation of Connelly to the same death. Among the first orders to be executed by the new general whom you will send to us will, I hope, be this necessary severity.⁵⁵

Fortunately, in spite of Moore's proposal and a later proclamation by Davis outlawing Butler and the officers of his command,⁵⁶ no retaliation was actually carried out against Connelly nor other subordinates of Butler whom the Confederates captured.

Shortly after Fuller's raid, the Eighth Vermont Volunteers replaced the Twenty-First Indiana at Algiers. Whether from ill luck or incompetence, the Vermonters were to make a sorry showing in comparison with their Hoosier predecessors. Yet they started off happily enough with an unopposed excursion by three companies to Thibodaux early in June.

Few people were to be seen in the streets on their arrival, stores were closed and blinds shut on dwelling-houses, and Confederate soldiers, if there had been any, as well as civilians, had apparently deserted the place. . . . [The major] found an iron foundry containing models and patterns for manufacturing arms, which he destroyed. Then, marching his command to the outskirts of the town, he came upon a

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 426, 469, 509, 743-744; Parton, *General Butler in New Orleans*, 322-354; Bragg, *Louisiana in the Confederacy*, 106-111.

⁵⁵ Thomas O. Moore to Jefferson Davis, June 12, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 754.

⁵⁶ Proclamation of December 23, 1862, *ibid.*, 906-908.

young ladies' seminary, from the windows of which peered the eager faces of the schoolgirls, intent on getting a good look at the terrible Yankees. . . . [Here] a halt was ordered, while the band was directed to discourse sweet music for the delectation of the curious maidens of Dixie Land. Having thus paid a delicate compliment to their pretty auditors, the men gave three cheers for the "sweet girl graduates," three more for the dear old flag, and marched away to the strains of "Yankee Doodle." On the return an old cannon, which the enemy had hidden away, was discovered, and the boys brought it home as a trophy.⁵⁷

In the third week of June the last Federal troops on Lafourche—evidently a detachment of the Eighth Vermont at the Crossing—were withdrawn, Des Allemands became the Federal outpost, and the railroad company stopped running trains beyond that point.⁵⁸ The wisdom of the withdrawal was soon confirmed by the misfortune that befell a party of thirty of the Eighth Vermont sent out by rail from Des Allemands toward Bayou Lafourche. Near Raceland Station a sergeant and six men were set afoot and the engine and car cautiously backed along behind them. Suddenly Confederates hidden in wild cane along the roadbed sent a volley of buck-shot into squad and train. Other Confederates began tearing up the track. The Federals returned the fire, got the train reversed before it could be trapped, and hastened back to Des Allemands, taking with them two dead, including the

⁵⁷ Carpenter, *Eight Vermont*, 57. Writing presumably from memory about 1886, Carpenter assigns the visit to mid-September, 1862, which is impossible; it is correctly placed in June by Benedict, *Vermont in the Civil War*, II, 93. Carpenter is probably wrong also in saying that the companies crossed Bayou des Allemands in boats and "followed" (i. e., marched along) the railroad track to Lafourche Crossing. The rail crossing at Des Allemands was restored by a temporary work on May 31, and trains were occasionally run as far west as Lafourche Crossing until June 17. *Ibid.*, II, 89-90; New Orleans, Opelousas, and Great Western Railroad Company, "Eleventh Annual Report," January, 1863, *House Executive Document* No. 101, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., 47; New Orleans, Opelousas, and Great Western Railroad Company, [Fifteenth] *Annual Report*, January, 1867, 9-10.

⁵⁸ The company continued to operate between Algiers and Des Allemands until July 1, when the road passed under "the exclusive management and control of the military authorities of the United States." It was returned to the company February 1, 1866. New Orleans, Opelousas, and Great Western Railroad Company, "Eleventh Annual Report," *House Executive Document* No. 101, 47-48; New Orleans, Opelousas, and Great Western Railroad, [Fifteenth] *Annual Report*, 5-10.

fireman of the engine, and nine wounded. Three dead they left behind on the track.⁵⁹ Confederate casualties were two wounded.⁶⁰

The episode at Raceland Station on June 22, 1862, marked the definite closing of the railroad into the Lafourche district. With that route blocked, the only remaining practicable entryway for the Federals was Bayou Lafourche itself. On May 31 a Federal gunboat had ventured a short distance down from Donaldsonville, but none came after, and by early August the Bayou was too low for gunboats to enter.⁶¹ A soldier's wife reported to her husband on July 1 that every one "within her circle of acquaintance was well, the Bayou within its banks[,] the Yankees all gone."⁶² The Lafourche country was to have four months to make ready for a real attack.

⁵⁹ Benedict, *Vermont in the Civil War*, II, 94-95; Carpenter, *Eighth Vermont*, 50-51.

⁶⁰ W. F. Pugh, "Journal," June 23, 1862. Testimony about the identity of the Confederates at Raceland is surprisingly conflicting. Benedict says they were a militia company under Captain R. G. Darden. Louisa (Mrs. John) Williams to Mary Williams Pugh, July 3, [1862], R. L. Pugh Papers (Department of Archives, Louisiana State University), speaks of them as Texans. Actually they seem to have been members of Lt. Col. V. A. Fournet's Yellow-Jacket Battalion from the Teche. Louisiana Adjutant General, *Annual Report*, December 10, 1862, in Bartlett, *Washington Artillery*, 256, 258; William B. Ratliff to General R. C. Martin, June 26, 1862, R. C. Martin Papers.

⁶¹ W. F. Pugh, "Journal," 15, June 1, 1862; A. F. Pugh, *Diary*, May 31, 1862, July 17-August 8, 1862, *passim*.

⁶² Mrs. George W. Pugh to George W. Pugh paraphrased in R. L. Pugh to Mary Williams Pugh, July 10, 1862, R. L. Pugh Papers.

Frances Benjamin Johnston and Her Views of Uncle Sam

By JOHN C. L. ANDREASSEN

Director, State Archives and
Records Commission

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH of Frances Benjamin Johnston should probably be done in the manner of the "Profiles" in the *New Yorker*;¹ however, all that is attempted here, is to place these eight photographs of Uncle Sam Plantation in appropriate setting. The photographs were made in 1938, just before the demolition of the structures portrayed.

Every now and then, some person who has completed a normal lifetime of considerable achievement, takes a new lease on life and with something akin to genius, energetically starts off on a campaign, nay, a crusade, which leads to phenomenal accomplishment. Such was to be the experience of Frances Benjamin Johnston, beginning in her sixty-third year.

Miss Johnston (1864-1952) was born in Grafton, West Virginia, spent her childhood and youth there, in Rochester, New York, and in Washington, D.C. She received her formal education at Notre Dame Convent in Govanston, Maryland. She then studied art at the Academie Julien in Paris, and upon her return to the United States in 1885 studied at the Art Student's League in Washington.

It would appear that her first job was to serve as a substitute for a friend who had been the Washington correspon-

¹ This biographical note is based in large part on a re-study of the Library of Congress Frances Benjamin Johnston File. This file has been placed on one roll of 16 mm. microfilm and one roll of 35 mm. film.

dent for a New York newspaper. The job involved the interviewing of personalities and the provision of an accompanying sketch to illustrate the article. The idea that an accompanying photograph would help to sell more articles caused her to write George Eastman, requesting that he send her a camera which would take good pictures for newspapers.²

Something of a novelty, the young girl photographer was soon accepted as a professional. Personality, appearance, drive, and some degree of gall soon gave her the status of an unofficial "Court" photographer. She gained and had constant access to the White House through the administrations of Harrison, Cleveland, McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft. Some of her photographs were taken under conditions bordering on the fantastic, at least for most young ladies of the period. For just one example, it was "Miss Frances" who climbed high into the scaffolding to photograph the Main Reading Room of the Library of Congress before the dome was installed!³

Her experiences with the elder "Papa" Lumier as a photographic judge at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis in 1904 was recounted many times in her later years. She was probably the first to photograph President McKinley after he had been shot. Another highlight for her was the "ball" she had when, for New York papers, she photographed the American fleet in Naples on the way home from Dewey's victory in Manila Bay. Thousands of her photographs were used to illustrate her own news stories and articles and those of others.

Hers were some of the first picture stories. Many were published by Edward W. Bok in the *Ladies Home Journal*. Her subjects were of a surprising variety. She pictured the miner at work in open pits and under-ground and the laborer in mills and factories. She achieved success in illustrating construction activities and labor conditions, and her portrait

² Paul Vanderbilt, Consultant in Iconography, Library of Congress, prepared a 15 page typescript summary of Miss Johnston's life and contributions in 1953. It is to be found on the microfilm mentioned in footnote 1, *supra*.

³ Library of Congress, *News Letter*, II (May 19, 1952), 17.

work indicated a refusal to follow the older patterns. Her early interest in flowers, gardens, and landscaping led her to use color photography as early as 1908.

Apparently, her first architectural commission was received from John M. Carrère to photograph the New Theater in New York upon its completion in 1909. This led to further commissions from such architectural greats as Bertram G. Goodhue, John Russell Pope, and Cass Gilbert. During the 1920's she photographed the ornate palaces of American millionaires, including gardens and interiors. Among her patrons were the Vanderbilts and the Goulds, the Whitneys and the Astors.

Then came a commission from Mrs. Daniel B. Devore of Fredericksburg, Virginia, who had recently renovated and restored her estate, Chatham. While performing a systematic photographic survey of this estate, the trained mind and practiced eye of "Miss Frances" seemed to have turned to plans for what was to become her crowning achievement. There had been some photographic documentation of the manor houses of the South, but no such documentation of mills, cabins, small stores, taverns, barns, outbuildings, wagon sheds, cotton presses, corn cribs, meat houses, and tobacco-curing barns which were rapidly crumbling away.⁴ Hoping to record for posterity these remnants of a fleeting age with her camera, she discussed her plans with Mrs. Devore. In 1927, at the age of 63, Miss Johnston obtained a commission to do a photographic survey of Fredericksburg, Old Falmouth, and the vicinity "to preserve something of the atmosphere of an old Virginia town."

The 144 pictures resulting from this survey were exhibited in the Fredericksburg Town Hall, and in 1929 they were placed on display in the Library of Congress. Many more surveys were to be recorded on the pattern of this Fredericksburg survey. Concentrating first on Virginia, the surveys

⁴ See, for example, Thomas T. Waterman, *The Early Architecture of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 1941), 3-18.

Illustrations

Fig. 14—Uncle Sam Plantation House.

Fig. 15—Uncle Sam Plantation House and Upriver Garconnière.

Fig. 16—Upriver Garconnière and Uncle Sam Plantation House.

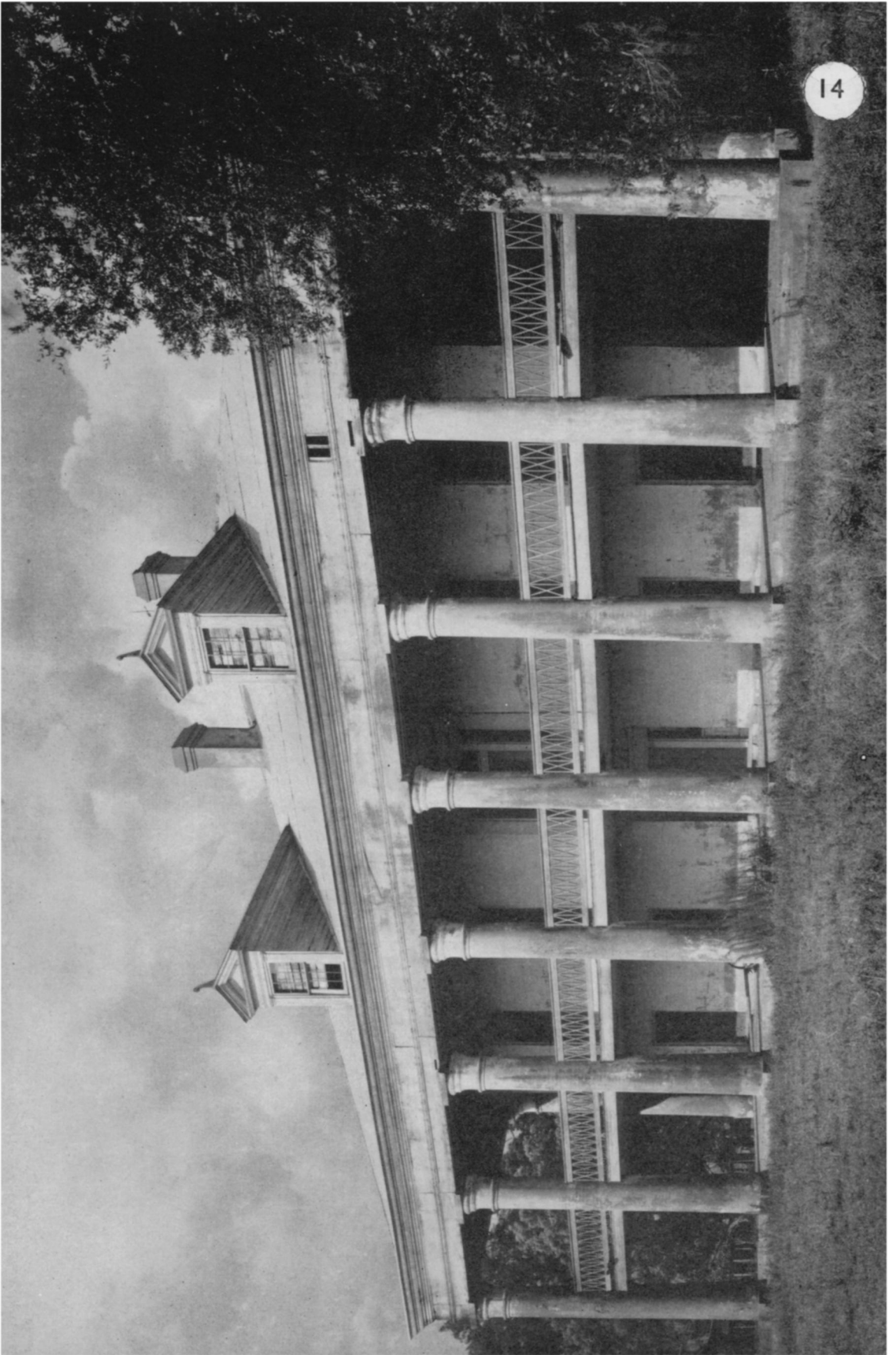
Fig. 17—Upriver Garconnière.

Fig. 18—Downriver Garconnière.

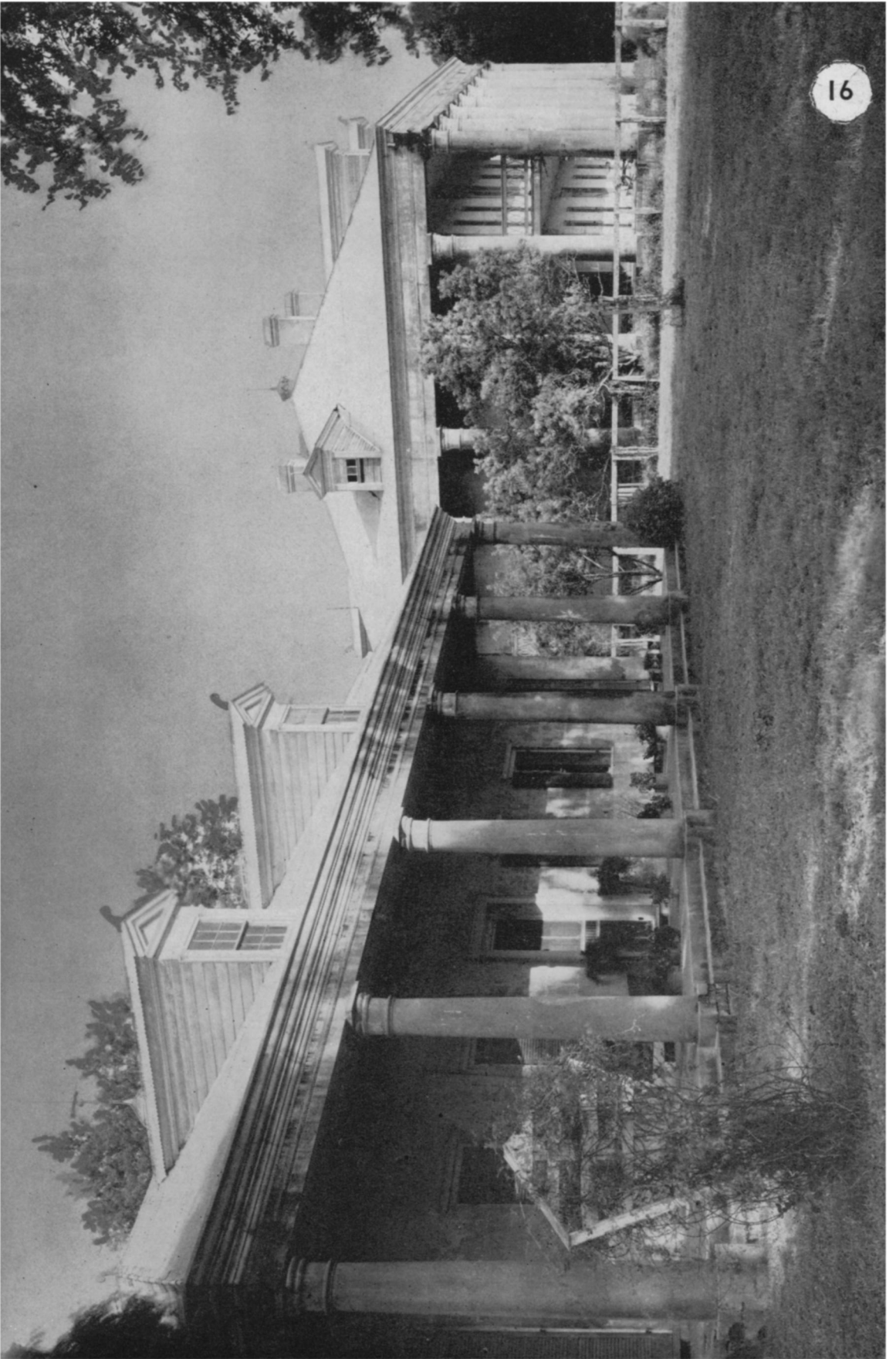
Fig. 19—Office, Pigeonnier.

Fig. 20—Kitchen.

Fig. 21—Pigeonnier.

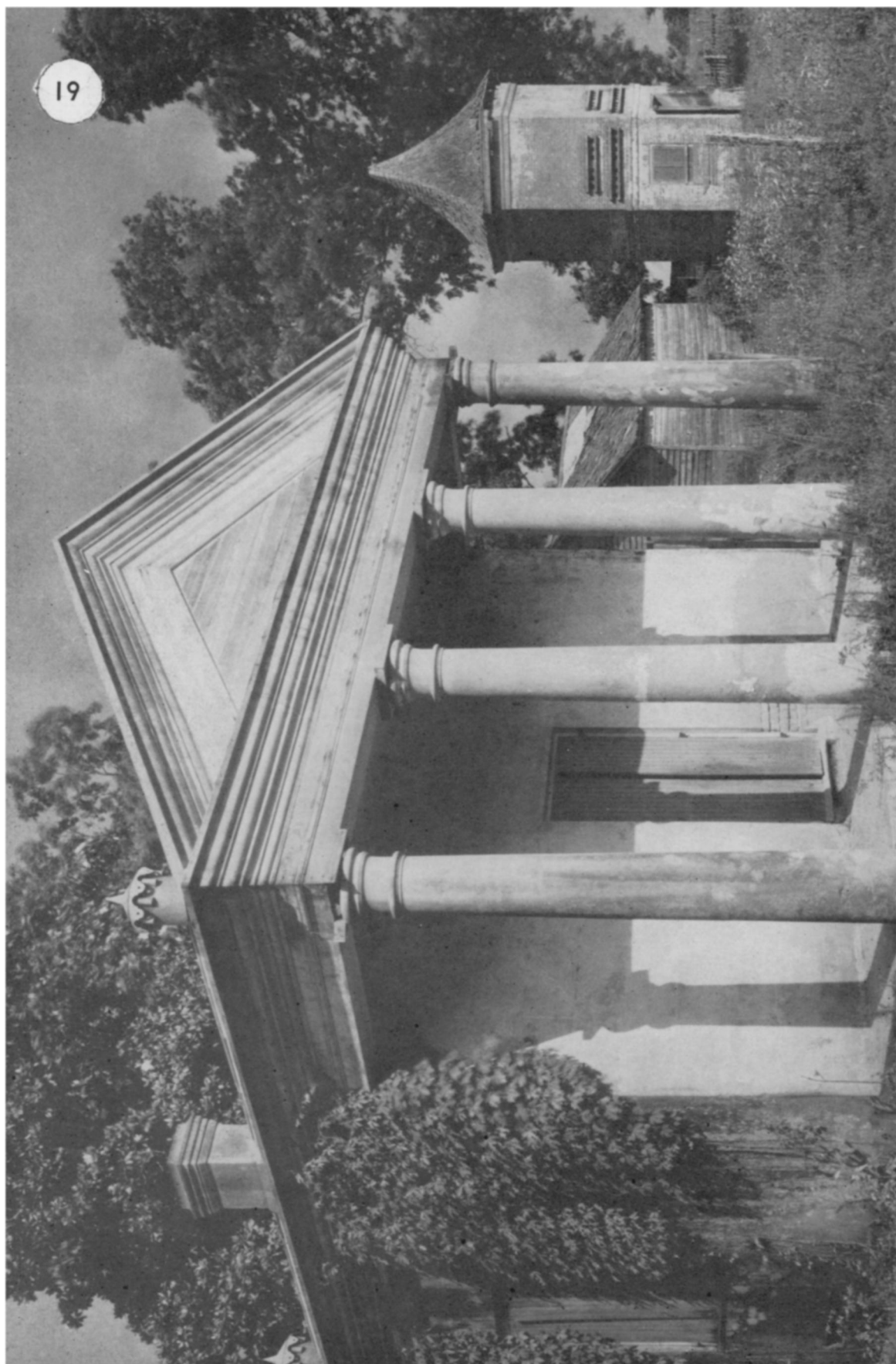


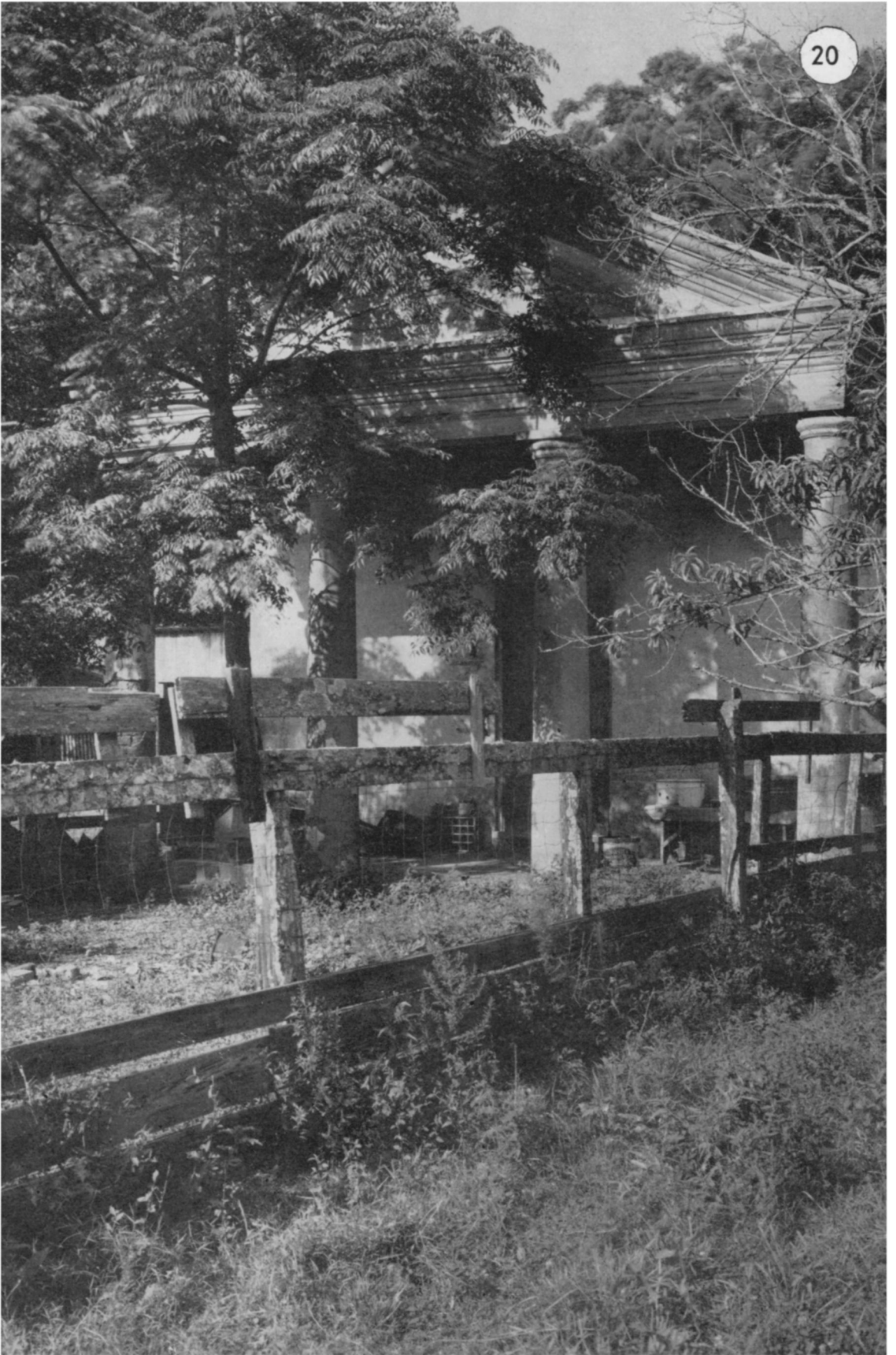














were to expand until she had recorded much of the early architectural remains in certain southern states. She was assisted by hundreds of individuals, many institutions, and by a series of grants from the Carnegie Foundation which were administered by the Library of Congress. At the formal conclusion of the survey in 1943, the Library of Congress recorded some 7500 negatives by states as follows: Maryland, 490; Virginia, 2980; North Carolina, 2131; South Carolina, 625; Georgia, 446; Florida, 172; Alabama, 350; Mississippi, 78; and Louisiana, 407.⁵

Miss Johnston was made an honorary member of the American Institute of Architects in ceremonies held at the Louisiana State Museum on November 5, 1945. Her citation read in part: "an eminent layman, distinguished citizen, having signally contributed to the advancement of the profession of architecture of the United States."

Frances Benjamin Johnston died at the age of 88 on March 16, 1952, at her home, 1132 Bourbon Street, New Orleans.⁶ Her ashes were interred in Rock Creek Cemetery, Washington, D. C. The bulk of the product of her cameras for the last twenty-five years of her life is in the Library of Congress. Substantial collections of her work in negative and/or in prints can be found in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Virginia State Historical Society, the College of William and Mary, the University of Virginia, the Huntington Library, the Carnegie Institute, the Baltimore Museum of Art, the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, and the University of North Carolina.

⁵ Miss Johnston had a contract with the University of North Carolina Press to produce a Louisiana volume. She often spoke of it as a Lower Mississippi Valley volume. In August, 1951, when she had not found an architectural historian collaborator for this work and had found one for a Georgia book, priority was given to the latter. Samuel Wilson, Jr., has told this writer the Johnston photographs of Louisiana's early architecture do not provide enough coverage for full treatment of the State's architectural landmarks. Hence, an attempt at limited publication in this manner.

⁶ For an interview with Miss Johnston, at home at the age of 83, see Maud O'Bryan Ronstrom, "60 Years With a Shadow Box," in *The Times Picayune New Orleans States Magazine*, November 2, 1947, pp. 8-9.

Works in which the illustrations are all, or in substantial part, the product of Frances Benjamin Johnston's camera include:

Henry Irving Brock, *Colonial Churches in Virginia* (Richmond: The Dale Press, 1930)

Samuel G. Stoney, *Plantations of the Carolina Low Country* (Charleston: Carolina Art Association, 1938, 1945)

Thomas T. Waterman, *The Early Architecture of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941, 1947, 1959)

Thomas T. Waterman, *The Mansions of Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1946)

Thomas T. Waterman, *Dwellings of Colonial America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950)

Frederick Doveton Nichols, *The Early Architecture of Georgia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957).

The eight Johnston photographs of Uncle Sam Plantation structures which follow are indicative of the quality of her work. They were taken near the end of her active photographic survey of early Southern architecture. They are numbered in the Library of Congress collections, as follows: (14) 1391; (15) 1392; (16) 1395; (17) 1394; (18) 1396; (19) 1397; (20) 1398; (21) 1399.

Uncle Sam Plantation was located just up river from Convent in St. James Parish on the East Bank. In 1940, it was demolished to make way for levee changes.

The big house had not been lived in for very long periods since 1915, when the last descendants of the builder were forced to leave.⁷ As late as 1940 it was still considered the most complete set of plantation buildings extant. The complex consisted of a 100 foot square plantation house, surrounded by some 28 columns. On each side of the two-story house was a garconnière, one story in height. Just back of the big

⁷ Harnett T. Kane, *Plantation Parade, The Grand Manner in Louisiana* (New York, 1945), 168.

house were two smaller buildings spaced so that from the river road they could be seen between the house and the garconnières. That on the upriver side was used as the plantation office; that on the downriver side was used for the plantation kitchen. Two rows of Negro cabins stretched back to the rear, with the sugar house situated at the end of the downriver row of cabins. The cane fields stretched out north, south and east of the rectangle formed by the plantation buildings.⁸

E. H. Suydam's illustration of Saxon's *Old Louisiana*⁹ provide a lifelike view of Uncle Sam. Other sketches will be found in Stanley Arthur's *Louisiana Tours*,¹⁰ J. Frazer Smith's *White Pillars*¹¹ and Spratling-Scott's *Old Plantation Houses*.¹² A photograph of Uncle Sam by John Reinhard is to be found in Kane's *Plantation Parade*¹³ captioned "Uncle Sam: A Monument that None Would Save." The fullest collection of photographs noted to date in print is that contained in Clarence John Laughlin's *Ghosts Along the Mississippi*.¹⁴ The *Louisiana Guide* has one illustration attributed to the *New Orleans Item* which looks very much as if it were taken by Frances Benjamin Johnston, on the same day No. 6 of the pictures here presented, was taken. Her photograph of Greenwood on the same page has the following attribution "*Francis [Sic] Benjamin Johnston: New Orleans Item.*"¹⁵

Uncle Sam was built during the 1840's by Pierre Auguste Samuel Fagot, known in most of the records of St. James

⁸ For a sketch of Uncle Sam Plantation in perspective see Kane, *Plantation Parade*, 160-161; for a plate of the plantation group see J. Frazer Smith, *White Pillars, Early Life and Architecture of the Lower Mississippi Valley Country* (New York, 1941), 201.

⁹ Lyle Saxon, *Old Louisiana* (New York, 1929), 301-302.

¹⁰ Stanley Clisby Arthur, *Louisiana Tours, A Guide to Places of Historic and General Interest, Where to Go, How to Go, What to See* (New Orleans, 1950), 44.

¹¹ Smith, *White Pillars*, 200.

¹² William P. Spratling and Natalie Scott, *Old Plantation Houses in Louisiana* (New York, 1927), 12.

¹³ Kane, *Plantation Parade*, 154-155.

¹⁴ Clarence John Laughlin, *Ghosts Along the Mississippi, An Essay in the Poetic Interpretation of Louisiana's Plantation Architecture* (New York, 1948), plates 69-73.

¹⁵ *Louisiana, A Guide to the State* (American Guide Series, New York, 1941), between 188, 189.

Parish as Samuel Fagot. It is said that he came from La Rochelle, France, and was definitely known to be in the Convent area in 1828. It is clear that he began acquiring land in St. James Parish during August, 1829.¹⁶ During the period before the first recorded instrument was filed by his widow, August 28, 1860, there are some 89 entries in the Conveyance Record Index, in which his name appears.¹⁷ In short, Samuel Fagot was a busy man in the acquisition of lands. Two significant instruments filed in the Courthouse at Convent are the terms of Fagot's partnership with Jean Joseph Jourdain, March 29, 1830.¹⁸ Two other significant documents are the succession documents of April 21, 1858, and January 1 of 1859.¹⁹

Samuel Fagot married Émilie Jourdain; of this union were born Marie Émilie Eugénie Fagot and Félicie Fagot. The former married Jacques Auguste Démophon and the latter married Lucien Malus. It was Malus who operated Uncle Sam following Samuel Fagot's death. The Malus' had two daughters, Émilie and Félicie. They married two brothers, Jules and Camille Jacob. In time, Camille sold out to Jules, who operated the place until he was forced to leave about 1915 when Uncle Sam was taken from him. Others operated the plantation for short periods. Obviously it was in operation when Suydam did his sketches in 1929.²⁰ Present title to the land and remaining cabins and out buildings appears to be in the Uncle Sam Plantation, Inc., which in recent years has leased its sugar lands to Mt. Airey-Uncle Sam Planting Company.²¹ Miss Johnston's photographs must now speak for themselves.

¹⁶ St. James Parish Conveyance Record, Book 11, p. 278.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Book 34, p. 61.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Book 11, p. 459; Book 18, p. 575.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Book 35, pp. 27-31.

²⁰ This account is based in part on the parish records, in part on such works as Kane and Laughlin, previously cited.

²¹ St. James Parish Conveyance Record, Book 101, p. 327; Book 104, pp. 138, 176; Book 105, p. 249.

Henry Stuart Foote: A Republican Appointee in Louisiana

By JOHN EDMOND GONZALES

is Associate Professor of History at Mississippi Southern College and holds the Ph.D. degree from the University of North Carolina.

ON MAY 20, 1880, the New Orleans newspapers printed the notice of the death in Nashville, Tennessee, of the Superintendent of the United States Mint in New Orleans—Henry Stuart Foote. Thus the curtain fell on the career of one of the most colorful figures of nineteenth century America. Born in Virginia in 1804, Foote migrated as a young man to Alabama. Forced to leave Alabama after a few years, he began the journey to the West, to New Orleans, but he failed to reach his announced destination because he found Mississippi to be an inviting and exciting arena for the talents of an ambitious young lawyer-journalist-politician. He eventually reached New Orleans—but not until forty-eight years later.

During these intervening years, he became one of the best known “characters” in the nineteenth-century South. He served Mississippi as United States Senator (1847-1852) and Governor (1852-1854) and Tennessee as Confederate Congressman (1861-1865). A perpetual office seeker, he acknowledged allegiance at one time or another to every political party which appeared in the arena during his public life.¹

One newspaper editor characterized Foote’s career in blunt

¹ John Edmond Gonzales, “The Public Career of Henry Stuart Foote, 1804-1880” (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, the University of North Carolina, 1957).

language: "We do not say the General [Foote] hunted office or solicited office, but his bowels did certainly have a considerable yearning that way."² Previously the same newspaper had noted: "Planters who do not go to town more than twice a week invariably inquire, 'well, which side is General Foote on now!'"³ This paper will attempt to show how Foote secured what was to be his final appointment to public office from the last political party to which he acknowledged allegiance.

In 1859 Foote moved from Mississippi to Nashville, Tennessee, and remained a legal resident of that state until his death. As early as 1873, he had signified his intention of voting the Republican ticket in the next presidential election but did not align himself with the Republican Party in Tennessee until late 1875. Tennessee Republicans extended him a warm welcome. William G. "Parson" Brownlow praised him as "a brave generous man thoroughly attached to the union."⁴ At the state Republican convention, which met on August 24, 1876, to ratify the nominations of the national convention, Foote played a prominent role. He served on the resolutions committee and delivered one of the principal addresses. Foote, whose name had been mentioned frequently for state elector at large on the Republican ticket,⁵ was nominated for the post by acclamation. He now used his talents to denounce the Democrats in much the same manner that he had denounced the Republicans during the past sixteen years. He predicted success for the Republican ticket and praised the Republican nominees, Rutherford B. Hayes and William A. Wheeler. Samuel J. Tilden, the Democratic nominee, he branded as dishonest and corrupt, a nullifier, and a secessionist. The danger to the country Foote traced to one source: "the wicked machinations of unscrupulous men called Democrats," and he looked forward to debating the issues of the campaign with Tennessee Democratic lead-

² *Natchez Mississippi Free Trader and Natchez Daily Gazette*, August 28, 1838.

³ *Ibid.*, September 5, 1837.

⁴ *New York Times*, November 27, 1875, quoting the *Knoxville Chronicle*.

⁵ *Nashville Daily American*, August 22, 24, 1876.

ers.⁶ The opposition press in Tennessee, as expected, leveled its guns at Foote,⁷ who, with his checkered career, was a perfect target.

In early September both the Democrats and the Republicans announced joint speaking engagements for their respective electors, who would meet one opponent for a short period and then exchange opponents.⁸ The joint speaking tour did not begin until September 19; so Foote campaigned alone in early September.⁹ Mud-slinging characterized this campaign from the beginning for Foote had made too many enemies in Tennessee by his desertion of the Democrats¹⁰ and his denunciation of Andrew Johnson¹¹ to be treated with any degree of charity. His enemies attacked Foote more often on these two points than on any other. They also charged that he had been promised an office to change political sides.¹² Some opponents dismissed Foote as an old man in his dotage.¹³ In an effort to embarrass Foote, Democratic speakers quoted liberally from his campaign speeches against the Republicans in 1872,¹⁴ and his speeches favoring secession in east Tennessee in 1861.¹⁵ Foote's abuse of Tilden, they argued, was a way of avoiding the issues of the campaign.¹⁶

Foote's speeches usually followed a general pattern. First, he would defend his position in 1861, his activities during the war, and his abandonment of the Confederacy. Then he

⁶ *Ibid.*, August 25, 1876.

⁷ Chattanooga *Daily Times*, August 27, 1876; Nashville *Daily American*, August 31, 1876, quoting the Knoxville *Tribune*, the Chattanooga *Commercial*, the Vicksburg *Tribune*.

⁸ Nashville *Daily American*, September 2, 14, 1876.

⁹ Chattanooga *Daily Times*, September 10, 1876.

¹⁰ Memphis *Daily Appeal*, September 6, 1876, quoting the Memphis *Courier-Journal*; Nashville *Daily American*, September 6, 19, 1876.

¹¹ Nashville *Daily American*, September 3, 1876, quoting the Knoxville *Chronicle*, Greenville *Intelligencer*; Nashville *Daily American*, September 17, 21, 1876, quoting the Knoxville *Tribune*, September 15, 1876; Chattanooga *Daily Times*, September 23, 1876; Memphis *Daily Appeal*, September 28, 1876.

¹² Nashville *Daily American*, September 28, 1876.

¹³ Nashville *Daily American*, September 8, 1876, quoting the Knoxville *Chronicle*; Nashville *Daily American*, October 27, 1876.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, September 23, 1876, quoting the Nashville *Republican Banner*, February 16, 1876.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, September 12, 14, 19, 20, 1876.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, September 29, 1876, quoting the Knoxville *Age*.

would praise the Republican Party and its nominees. Foote declared that he severed his connections with the Democrats when the secessionists and Tammany Hall gained control of the party. He always pointed to what he called the insincerity of the Democratic platform and claimed that the Democrats had borrowed their proposals from the Republicans as a vote-getting device.¹⁷ Although seventy-two years of age, Foote campaigned as vigorously as when he was a young man in Mississippi. There was nothing he liked better than the heated debate of a presidential campaign and he was a veteran of twelve of them. Unable to see into the future, he did not know that this was to be his last opportunity to participate in the stirring events of a presidential election. Fortunately for Foote, he was on the victorious team this time.

The winter of 1876-1877 was a critical one in the country's history. Republican headquarters refused to concede Tilden's election on the grounds that the returns were in dispute in four states: Congress had received two sets of returns from the four disputed states. The issue was not settled until two days before inauguration. Such a situation, involving constitutional questions, was made to order for Foote, and he did not hesitate to air his views in public print.

In an article, published first in the Washington press several weeks after the election, Foote asserted that "the House of Representatives has the right to choose a president only when there is no choice by the people, and when three or more candidates are running"; hence, he denied that the House had the right to settle the Tilden-Hayes dispute. Foote also maintained "that the constitution explicitly invests each of the States with full power to appoint Presidential electors in such a manner as it shall choose, and that the decision of the Canvassing Board, by whatever name called, cannot be reopened, or reversed by any power on earth."¹⁸

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, September 16, 20, 27, 1876; *Daily Memphis Avalanche*, October 20, 1876; *Memphis Daily Appeal*, October 20, 1876.

¹⁸ *New York Times*, November 27, 1876; *New York Tribune*, November 27, 1876.

Again, on December 31, 1876, he stated publicly that he regarded the election situation as dangerous. The Tilden forces, he believed, would resort to war rather than allow Hayes to be inaugurated. Reviewing United States constitutional history, Foote asserted that there was no authority for Congress to "set aside any part of the votes thus certified and cause others to be substituted in their place." The founding fathers had intended "to keep the hands of Congress out of the election." Congress could only "provide some regulation as to the mode in which the electoral vote may be counted." Foote expressed satisfaction with the creation of a joint-committee of Congress for this purpose. He believed that Hayes had the majority of the electoral votes and urged all "conservatives of both sections to join hands against extremists" to bring peace under Hayes' direction. Foote expected Hayes to give the country the type of administration needed at this time.¹⁹

The decision of the Electoral Commission, awarding the disputed votes to Hayes, pleased the old campaigner. For the first time since 1852 he had supported the winner in a presidential contest. During the summer of 1877, Foote visited Tennessee and upon his return to the nation's capital reported "that almost everybody [in Tennessee] with whom he came in contact extolled the course of President Hayes to the skies."²⁰ Foote served as a member of the reception committee that made arrangements for President Hayes' visit to Nashville in 1877,²¹ and when Hayes arrived in Nashville on September 19, he rode in the second carriage with Mrs. Hayes, Secretary of State William M. Evarts and his daughter, Bettie.²² Thus Hayes recognized publicly Foote's pre-eminence in the Republican Party in Tennessee.

In Washington during the 1870's "a decrepit old gentleman with a fiery red head, almost entirely bald, and a sparse

¹⁹ Washington *National Republican*, January 2, 1877.

²⁰ Nashville *Daily American*, July 12, 1877, quoting the Washington *National Republican*.

²¹ *Ibid.*, September 13, 1877.

²² *Ibid.*, September 20, 1877; Henry McRaven, *Nashville, "Athens of the South"* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949), 125.

beard entirely white leaning heavily on a stout gold-headed cane''²³ was a familiar sight. This old gentleman was Foote, now in his mid-seventies, and one of the last of the pre-war political figures still active on the American scene. Foote divided his time between Washington and Nashville; he liked to be at the scene of most activity. He often visited with his son-in-law and daughter, Senator and Mrs. William M. Stewart, who lived in Washington, but he always returned to Nashville for any important event.²⁴ He was a delegate from Davidson County at the Republican state convention, which met in Nashville in August, 1878,²⁵ and the convention honored him by electing him its permanent president. One delegate even tried to put his name in nomination for governor; Foote, however, gratefully declined to allow his name to be presented. But his position as permanent president gave him the much desired opportunity to address the convention—an address characterized by extravagant praise of the Republicans, and prolonged damnation of the Democrats. No one would want to exchange Hayes for Tilden, Foote declared, as he lavished praise upon the accomplishments of the Hayes administration.²⁶

Foote would have preferred to spend his last years in the United States Senate, but he was very happy when Hayes, on December 2, 1878, offered him the position of superintendent of the United States Mint at New Orleans, Louisiana. The Senate confirmed the nomination on December 18, 1878.²⁷ Tennessee Democrats had charged in the 1876 campaign that Foote was seeking a Federal job. This appointment was confirmation of that charge, but it should be noted that two years had elapsed before Foote received the appointment.

²³ Nashville *Daily American*, February 16, 1878.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, August 3, 1878.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, August 22, 1878.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, August 23, 1878.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, December 19, 1878. In order to hold this position Foote had to give a bond for \$25,000. His bondmen were Mrs. Myra Clark Gaines of New Orleans, and Frank Hereford of Union, West Virginia. They gave bond on December 19. By December 21 the bond had been examined and approved. Foote took the oath of office before a notary public on December 19. The bond has been preserved in the records of the United States Mint, National Archives.

Louisiana Republicans manifested great interest in the appointment of Foote to this post. The New Orleans *Daily Picayune* viewed Foote's appointment as further evidence that members of the old Republican machine in Louisiana were losing their influence with the Hayes administration.²⁸ Ex-Governor William Pitt Kellogg of Louisiana, the *Picayune* declared, had actively opposed the nomination of Foote to the post, and had refused, as a result of his failure to prevent confirmation, to have any further relations with the White House.²⁹ In an interview with a *Picayune* reporter, ex-Governor Michael Hahn of Louisiana and former Mint superintendent, denied that he had opposed Foote's confirmation.³⁰ Louisianians generally believed that Foote's friendship with Supreme Court Justice Noah H. Swayne, his past political record, and his family ties in the Senate had insured his confirmation.³¹ Louisiana Republican leaders welcomed Foote and secured for him a place at the head table at a banquet given by the Union Club at Antoine's to honor Kellogg on January 2, 1879. Foote was in the bosom of Louisiana Republicanism, surrounded by Kellogg, Hahn, Henry Clay Warmoth, and Benjamin Franklin Flanders. Foote, the *Picayune* reported, "personified the 'old man eloquent' when he referred to the millennium of the South, when it adopted Republican doctrines as its salvation." Foote declared the Republican Party to be "the party of law and order, the party of progress and the party of internal improvements."³²

In an attempt to counteract disapproval of his appointment by "one or two low minded scribblers of the Democratic Party," Foote forwarded to Secretary of the Treasury John Sherman "one of the numerous letters [he had] recently received from leading Republicans in New Orleans, showing their approval of the nomination."³³ "You are a Southern

²⁸ New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, December 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 18, 19, 1878; January 2, 1879.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, December 5, 6, 8, 1878.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, January 2, 1879.

³¹ *Ibid.*, December 4, 6, 1878.

³² *Ibid.*, January 5, 1879.

³³ Henry S. Foote to John Sherman, December 9, 1878, in United States Mint Records, National Archives.

man," the letter read, "one of us, whose every sympathy is in favor of Union plan and prosperity."³⁴ Foote anticipated no difficulty with the job or the people of the region.

On his way to New Orleans from Washington to assume his new post, Foote had stopped in Nashville to spend the Christmas holidays. But he did not linger in Nashville, because he was anxious to get settled in his new job before the end of the year.³⁵ To guide Foote in his direction of the Mint's activities, the Director of the Bureau of the Mint in Washington forwarded detailed instructions.³⁶ As to general policy, he wrote: "We desire your mint to open for receipt of deposits of Gold Bullion for coinage and silver purchases as soon as practicable. This may be done soon as you are ready to melt and assay."³⁷ In 1879, R. E. Preston, the recently-appointed director of the Bureau of the Mint in Washington, urged Foote to keep the records of the mint "with great care." For this purpose he forwarded to Foote two record books, one for recording communications sent from the New Orleans office and one for recording communications sent to the New Orleans office.³⁸ According to the records available, the direction of the Mint's activities kept Foote very busy.³⁹

³⁴ John B. Ray and Charles Ray to Henry S. Foote, December 6, 1878, in United States Mint Records, National Archives.

³⁵ Nashville *Daily American*, December 25, 1878.

³⁶ H. R. Linderman to Henry S. Foote, December 31, 1878, in Records of Letters, 423, Office Director of the Mint, National Archives; R. E. Preston to Henry S. Foote, January 3, 1879, *ibid.*, 435; January 6, 1879, *ibid.*, 445; January 11, 1879, *ibid.*, 474; January 13, 1879, *ibid.*, 478-480; January 14, 1879, *ibid.*, 484; January 15, 1879, *ibid.*, 486. (Hereinafter cited as Mint Letters.)

³⁷ H. R. Linderman to Henry S. Foote, December 31, 1878, Mint Letters, 423.

³⁸ R. E. Preston to Henry S. Foote, January 14, 1879, Mint Letters, 485.

³⁹ The only record book that has been preserved in the National Archives is the one containing the list of communications sent from the New Orleans office to Washington. It begins with July 1, 1879, and ends with June 30, 1880, and covers Foote's term except for the first six months of 1879. Each entry is numbered and dated as to when sent and when received, with the name of the sender recorded and a very brief statement of the subject of the letter. There are a total of six hundred entries during Foote's tenure. Half of these are recorded as daily statements with no further notation. The remaining entries relate to problems of personnel or coinage. Foote expressed concern over the safety of the Mint. He appointed a special watchman and purchased a burglar proof safe. Foote also urged that steps be taken to repair the building in which the Mint office was located. He visited briefly the New York assay office and the Philadelphia Mint in August, 1879.

On March 25, 1880, Foote asked for a temporary leave of absence. He did not, however, take advantage of this leave until April 21, when he left New Orleans for his home near Nashville. About two weeks later, on May 7, Foote resigned the position.⁴⁰ He expressed disappointment at being unable to continue in the job, but stated that "the continued pressure of disease" forced him to give it up.⁴¹ As his last official act as superintendent, Foote urged Washington to increase the appropriation for wages, repairs, and machinery for the mint at New Orleans.⁴² After Foote's death, a deficit was found in his accounts. Foote's sons, after considerable inquiry into the matter, established that the guilty party was not Foote, but William A. Steele, the cashier who had given Foote considerable trouble during the last few months of his term.⁴³

Foote found time for outside activities while serving as Superintendent of the Mint. He attended the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Labor Convention in Vicksburg in July, 1879. Governor John M. Stone of Mississippi, supported by prominent white planters and business men, had called the meeting. Foote availed himself of this opportunity to denounce those men in the South who were not respecting the rights of the Negro. He urged the "appointment of local committees of men of known probity, impartiality, and patriotism to watch with increasing vigilance the rights to be protected." His appeal, however, fell upon deaf ears, and the Jackson *Clarion* denounced Foote for "waving the bloody shirt."⁴⁴ Foote also found time for writing. In the summer of 1879, he wrote a thirty-seven page autobiographical sketch

⁴⁰ Letters received, Mint and Assay offices, July 1, 1879, to June 30, 1880, National Archives. (Hereinafter cited as Mint Letter Book.)

⁴¹ Henry S. Foote to Rutherford B. Hayes, May 7, 1880, in United States Mint Records, in National Archives. (Hereinafter cited as Mint Records.)

⁴² Mint Letter Book.

⁴³ R. M. M. Foote to Horatio C. Burchard, February 9, March 10, March —, 1881, in Mint Records.

⁴⁴ Vernon Lane Wharton, *The Negro in Mississippi, 1865-1890* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947), 115, quoting the Jackson *Weekly Clarion*, May 14, 1879.

which he sent to J. F. H. Claiborne, who was preparing a history of Mississippi.⁴⁵

On January 8, 1880, the Nashville press reported that Foote was very ill.⁴⁶ During his last visit to Washington, when suddenly rising, Foote had struck "the top of his head against the sharp point at the bottom of a chandelier, under which he had been sitting," and a cancerous growth soon developed. Foote's doctors in New Orleans performed an operation, but it was unsuccessful and gave him no relief.⁴⁷ "He had recognized the inevitable, and his family and friends were expecting" his death, which came on May 19, 1880, at his home some five miles from Nashville.⁴⁸ He was buried in Mount Olivet Cemetery in a lot belonging to the Smiley family. Ironically, his grave is unmarked.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Foote manuscript in John Francis Hamtrank Claiborne Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina. Foote was so busy at the time that he employed J. W. Harmon as a copyist. Foote was anxious to be paid for the manuscript. J. W. Harmon to J. F. H. Claiborne, June 19, 1879, in Claiborne Papers. William M. Gwin had suggested to Claiborne that he "might glean useful information" from Foote for his history. William M. Gwin to J. F. H. Claiborne, December 31, 1878, in Claiborne Papers.

⁴⁶ Nashville *Daily American*, January 8, 1880.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, May 21, 1880; Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, December 9, 1923.

⁴⁸ Nashville *Daily American*, May 20, 1880; *Daily Memphis Avalanche*, May 20, 1880; Memphis *Daily Appeal*, May 20, 1880.

⁴⁹ Mount Olivet Cemetery Records. Mrs. Foote was buried here January 10, 1882.

Trips Up the River: *1855 and 1857*

Edited by JOE B. FRANTZ

who is a member of the Department of History at the University of Texas.

GAIL BORDEN, the inventor of the condensed milk process, was a Texan by adoption, who spent more and more time in the North as his business interests began to expand. Consequently, during the 1850's he not infrequently visited New Orleans in transit, traveling by Mississippi steamer to Cairo, St. Louis, or Louisville, where he would "board the cars" for New York.

An indefatigable letter writer, Borden left behind a number of accounts of his trips up the river. Two journeys taken from three letters,¹ are given in part here. The first account was written from Mechanicsville, New York, to James P. Cole of Galveston, March 10, 1855. Any vagaries in spelling and punctuation, need it be added, are Borden's.

"Nothing occurred on our passage to N. Orleans [from Galveston] worthy of notice, except I might mention the acquaintance made with a fellow passenger. . . . An intelligent christian gentleman (Mr. Cardwell a near neighbor of Col. Walker of Georgia.) He has been [in Texas] for the last year, opening a plantation in lower edge of Wharton county. How pleasant it is when travelling, to fall in with such a gentleman christian. While he was a graduate of a Northern college, his learning in the school of Christ was paramount,

¹ All letters are in the archives of The Borden Company, New York.

and gave such a lustre to his worldly wisdom, that rendered his company to me both profitable and pleasant

"I left N. Orleans the evening of the same day of my arrival there. Took passage for St. Louis on the good old steam 'Aleck Scott.' Had some 800 tons frt. and was just one week reaching Cairo, the mouth of the Ohio river. This now is the terminus of the great Illinois Central R.R. from which a traveller can reach any of the northern cities at the rate of 25 miles per hour. One of the routes to N. York may be put down thus. To wit:

From Cairo	to	St. Louis	— 200 miles
" St. Louis	"	Chicago	— 260 "
" Chicago	"	Tolledo	— 243 "
" Tolledo	"	Cleveland	— 113 "
" Cleveland	"	Erie	— 95 "
" Erie	"	Buffalo	— 88 "
" Buffalo	"	Albany	— 298 "
			1297 "

"The steamer Aleck Scott could ascend no higher than Cairo on account of low water. Arrived here Saturday night. The weather had commenced growing cold on the day previous. On Sunday morning went out to find a church or Sunday School. It seemed to me I never experienced as cold weather. Saw a church but no living soul near it, and made my way back to the boat, feeling that I had lost my ears and nose. 'good gracious says one what cold weather.' The like had not been seen during the winter if within the memory of man.

"About 10 o'clock the Steam Fashion packet from Louisville arrived on her way to St. Louis. Foolishly most of the Scotts passengers transferred themselves and their baggage to the Fashion, instead of waiting for the Cars next (Monday) morning. Among the crowd were many experienced men, but it was an error, and shows that it is not always best to follow the *Fashion*.

"Next day half way to St. Louis our passage was arrested

by the ice. It was now 27 miles to the railroad which, with much labor and expense many of the passengers reached and proceeded to St. Louis. My detention was 4 days.

"From N. Orleans to Cairo it was a monotonous round of eating and sleeping. I found, during the time but one religious man. He belonged to an order of 'Old F's' or to a religion *petrified*: He was so unlike my former companion from Galveston to N. Orleans, and one I subsequently fell in with, that I can't refrain from saying a word about him. He had at his tongues end the whole catalogue of scripture exhibiting every phase of Calvinistic doctrine. He did not believe in missionary effort; he had a pastor well off in the world, and could preach without pay. Thought God would carry on his own work, etc. I hardly need say, he was a "hard shell Baptist," and we could have but little sympathy for each other.

"On my passage from N. Orleans to St. Louis, I had an occasion to exercise my medical skill. Had three patients, all of whom recognised me as a skilful physician,² by which, before reaching St. Louis, I fully bore the cognomen of *Doctor*—While attending my last patient, I was myself taken sick. Chills, pains in the limbs and fever. With deliberation and presence of mind, I prescribed for myself. On Monday morning, the thermometer way down below Zero, I bathed in ice water from head to feet, took my remedies and was well in two days.

"On Sunday morning 4th Instant arrived at Chicago. Many miles before reaching the place, the *track* was, in several places hedged in by immense banks of snow from two to seven feet deep. This appeared curious enough to one, just from the Island City.

"My second sickness at Schenectady was probably occasioned by long confinement in the cars of the Express train. Weather most awfully cold, not a bit of air would be allowed to enter sometimes for 25 or 30 miles. A hot fire, and fifty

² Borden was not a doctor, but liked to practice homeopathy. He sometimes jocularly called himself Dr. Borden.

breaths soon used up the little supply contained in the space of a car. I had taken a most severe influenza, and although I stopped two nights after leaving Chicago, the trail was too hard for the old man, and nature had to yield. It is wonderful, how great changes the human system is able to undergo. The Psalmist understood this. . . .”

The second trip, of more interest to Louisianians, was made in May, 1857, when Borden left Galveston to return to New York and Connecticut to found The Borden Company, which has just finished observing its 100th Anniversary.³ The trip from New Orleans to New York by boat and train cost \$47. Again the letters were written to James P. Cole. The first is dated May 19 from aboard the steamer *Rainbow*.

“[On the trip from Galveston to New Orleans] Had an exceedingly unpleasant time in the Oppolousas, or Vanderbilt Steamer: She rolled wonderfully and the hard blow the night previous left ‘ground swells’ and she is narrow. Arrived in the Cars at Algiers about 11 at night on the next day. Steam ferry boat on the opposite side was ‘steam down.’ While waiting several of the passengers wanted to get up an indignation paper. When offered to me several had signed it, but I declined, being pressed for my reasons I stated that it was no time to do such a thing. We all felt too indignant and mad to do *any* thing right. I had made it a rule, that if I talked mad I would not write when in that condition. The paper got no more signatures in my vicinity. About two o’clock Saturday morning we landed in N. Orleans—Sister Louisa [wife of Thomas H. Borden, Gail Borden’s brother and a New Orleans resident] being captain, we went to the French Market hard by, and took cup of coffee & Tea. Then a hack soon drove the females to No 10 Calliopes St. at $\frac{1}{2}$ Past 3 in bed & asleep.

“Did not get our baggage until after 12 that day. It was,

³ Originally The Borden Company was known as the New York Condensed Milk Company.

however, in justice to the line & baggage agents it got *into* the *city* by 9A.M.

“Don’t understand by what I have said, that I am opposed to the Vanderbilt line. I only mean to say, they have not got the thing into working order. It will make a fine route and will be patronised, and should be patronised.

[Borden left at 5 o’clock that same afternoon.]

“Some excitement prevailed when we went on board; it being whispered that the boat was “going to race” with the steamer R. J. Ward just ready to put out for St. Louis, the Rainbow for Louisville. Some of the ladies were almost indignant. Bro. Tom tried to quiet them by saying, ‘Accidents do not occur often when boats race.’ Well,

“We have raced up to the present time with the Steamer Ward a ‘cracked boat.’ laden full of passengers at \$50 to \$55 passage fare. The Rainbow only \$ to \$ to Louisville. The Ward started, some 30 minutes before us. We passed her about 7 o’clock yesterday evening 560 miles above N.O. I do not know what efforts the *Ward* had made to prevent the Rainbow from passing her, but have no doubt they were as good as that of the R ---

“Our boat started with a large quantity of ‘light wood’ (pitch pine) and subsequently took on over 100 cords more of the same material. This morning 500 bushels coal. The other wood not being first rate, they made up deficiencies by using tar,—to day at the rate of two barrels per hour. What kind of fires are kept up, you may judge when I tell you there are 36 firemen—12 employed at a time. To one unaccustomed to the sight, these furnaces are absolutely terrific.

“Yet I am not half so apprehensive of danger now that I know the race is most hotly contested, as I did on the old sleepy steamers years ago. In (March) 1825 I ascended this river in a steamer from Natches to Louisville—Time 13 days. *Then* the only index to security was a “safety valve & gauge cock.” *Now* in addition to this, they are provided with

the following *Evans Guard*: is a watch upon the Engineer himself. It says 'If you get me too hot I shall open a hole and let out the steam.' A *Water gauge* a simple magnetic contrivance showing on a clock face the height of water in the boiler. And lastly, a *Steam gauge* indicating the precise pressure of steam in the boiler. Now then, with these contrivances with improvement in machinery and Engineers in skill & (line obliterated) (half so much) fear in the conflict of a race, as when these contrivances of safety were unknown. It should be forgotten neither, that on occasions like the present every officer is on his post & on the watch. One of the Engineers of a *Mate* is at all times overseeing the fires. The engineer every moment examining the machinery."

The second letter, written from Washington, D. C., on May 25, winds up the narrative briefly:

"Our racing steamer arrived at Cairo in 4 days 2 hours—Waited for the Cars 9 hours, during which time the competing steamer came up $2\frac{1}{2}$ [*sic*] behind us—so we beat them 3 hours. Took Cars via Ill Central R.R. through Ia.⁴ O. to Wheeling thence on the great Baltimore & O. R. R. over the mountains; wonderful road & grand scenery. In all 9 days 14 hours. from Galveston to my friend Thos. Green's⁵ Washington. . . ."

⁴ Indiana. Borden "laid over" one night in Indianapolis en route to Washington, missed the express train, and had to continue by a slower mail train.

⁵ Green, who owned considerable land in Texas, was one of Borden's backers in founding the original condensed milk factory. Later the two became intractable business enemies.

Reconstruction in Louisiana:

Three Letters

Edited by MARTIN ABBOTT

who holds the Ph.D. degree from Emory University and who is Associate Professor of History at Oglethorpe University.

MUCH OF THE bitter temper of the years of military occupation in the South following the War for Southern Independence may be gleaned from the private correspondence of that generation. The following three letters, written in early 1868 from New Orleans by two men who had come to Louisiana to make political as well as private fortune, are revelatory of the politics of the Reconstruction Period of that state. Written by men who were direct participants in the drama of Reconstruction that was just beginning to unfold in Louisiana, they describe events associated with the convention summoned to draft a new state constitution, under provisions outlined by the Congressional Reconstruction acts of 1867.

Thomas W. Conway, author of the first of the letters, was a former head of the Freedmen's Bureau in the state for about six months in 1865, until his opposition to President Johnson's policies occasioned his removal. He came to be a figure of considerable importance in the Radical regime established under the new state constitution.¹ The writer of the other two letters was Charles H. Fox, of whom little is known beyond what his communications reveal. He was an ex-Union soldier who apparently had come to Louisiana in quest of

¹ George R. Bentley, *A History of the Freedmen's Bureau* (Philadelphia, 1955), 57-58, 70-71.

personal fortune and who at the moment appeared to be drawing support from among the freedmen for his political aspirations.

All of the letters were addressed to the Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, General O. O. Howard, whose papers at Bowdoin College Library contain the originals.

New Orleans, La.

January 5, 1868

Dear General:

Your favor reached me in due time. It was too short to be interesting but I hope you may find time to write me at length before long. I often think of you and how you have toiled amid all sorts of difficulties to give credit to our Emancipation policy, and, though I was the first of the few who originated the Bureau, who was stricken down as if I were a foe, I can say that no man has said or done more to bring public sympathy to your aid than myself. I do not forget however that the man "at the other end of the Avenue" was to blame.

I send you herewith the resolutions Concerning the Bureau which I drew and caused to be presented to the Convention.² They lie over under the rules but will pass by a large majority. Mr. Eliot in his letter to me suggested the passage of such resolutions.³ The Bureau here is not amounting to much at present. Mower⁴ nearly killed it by appointing whiskey drinkers to subordinate places. But it does some good for all that. Political matters are exciting. Hancock⁵ is avowedly with the rebels in sympathy. They lay absolute

² This is a reference to the constitutional convention of ninety-eight members, divided equally between white and black, elected in September, 1867. Convened in late November, it remained in session until March 9, 1868. Ella Lonn, *Reconstruction in Louisiana after 1868* (New York, 1918), 5-6.

³ Conway had recently corresponded with Congressman T. D. Eliot of Boston on the matter of continuing the life of the Bureau beyond mid-1868. Conway to O. O. Howard, December 12, 1867, in the O. O. Howard Papers (Bowdoin College Library).

⁴ Joseph A. Mower was one of the successors of Conway as head of the Bureau in Louisiana, serving from November 16, 1866, to December 3, 1867. Bentley, *Freedmen's Bureau*, 215.

⁵ General W. S. Hancock, who succeeded General Philip Sheridan as military commander of the state in August, 1867.

. . . [undecipherable word] to him, and we poor old soldiers who fought with him have no show.

The Convention is now pushing ahead with its work. The members are below par as to intelligence but that is better than to be so as to loyalty. Langston⁶ and I have taken them in hand lately and the prospect is that they will give head to what we urge upon them. Chase is the only man spoken of for the Presidency in this section and you for vice president. Grant has no one here, among the Republicans, who says he will vote for him. This may or may not suit you, but I mention it as a fact merely.

I'm glad to see Armstrong⁷ still in service. . . .

I am working hard among the freedmen *to do them good*. Poor people! They love me for what I did for them when friends were fewer and more poorly compensated than they are now.

Our friends in this state seem determined to put me at the head of the Dept. of Public Education in connection with the new government.⁸ I suppose I could be useful there, and perhaps I could see the end of the same good cause of which I also saw the commencement. This would be a strange Providence surely. I have worked as hard and done as much as anybody (except yourself) to give the poor blacks that fair chance in the world which God designed for them as well as for us; and now, what little I have in the world, together with my time and labors, are ready to be spent in the same good cause. However dark may be the moment whatever may be the obstacles in the way, I have no doubt as to the result which God has in store for us.

Very truly yours,
Thomas W. Conway

⁶ John M. Langston, an accomplished Negro orator who was one of the Bureau's inspectors of schools and who actively promoted the Republican cause in the South. Bentley, *Freedmen's Bureau*, 188-189.

⁷ William J. Armstrong, a special agent of the Bureau in the South for a short time in 1868, was an ardent advocate of Radical doctrines. *Ibid.*, 189.

⁸ Conway was nominated for the post a few days later by the Republican state convention. H. C. Warmoth, *War, Politics and Reconstruction: Stormy Days in Louisiana* (New York, 1930), 55.

New Orleans

March 26, 1868

Dear General

I have not written you in a long time not because I did not have the inclination so to do, but I did not wish to worry you by writing when I had nothing of importance to communicate. now we have matters of great importance we are upon the eve of an important Election—for or against the Constitution we will have a hard struggle the Rebels, Copperheads and Democrats have united their forces against us—and declare they will defeat the Constitution but we do not believe a word of it we are at work well organized and watching them closely—we have large meetings and well attended I speak every evening and have large and enthusiastic meetings. The colored population are alive to their duties and fully understand their situation but we have a great obstacle Genl. Hancock injured us seriously and now we are cursed with Buchanan⁹ he will refuse the Registration on us and thousands of Rebs will register that was denied Registration by Genl. Sheridan. Hancock appointed a New Board of Registrars most all Rebs, men who cannot legally Register Consequently you can see who they will sympathize with. Cannot we get relief—must we be crushed out by such bad men with Johnson at their head. Let him be Impeached at once—give us Wade and we are all right— Genl. when Wade is President may I solicit a favor from you?

Please write me as soon as conven't.

Your friend,
Charles H. Fox

New Orleans
May 9, 1868

Dear General

After a severe contest we the Radicals have succede[d] in carrying the state. We have adopted our constitution by at least 20,000 majority also elected the Radical State

⁹ R. C. Buchanan, Hancock's successor as military commander in 1868.

Ticket also have a good working majority in each branch of the legislature also elected four of the five Congressmen. We will also [have] both U. S. Senators Radicals. We have had great obstacles to overcome Genl. Hancock injured us greatly. He was a great impediment to reconstruction, gave all the aid and comfort in his power to the Rebs and retarded Unionists all in his power and subsequently Genl. Buchanan was worse than Hancock, as he executed all the clever plans Hancock had contemplated, and well did he do his work. But with all we have succeeded, and if our coming legislature is true to the principles and the party we will doubtless place the rebel gang in a position where they will ultimately become extinct.

We are watching closely the progress of impeachment. This is almost our only salvation if Senators become timid and falter in the work they have commenced our Radical party and principles are placed in danger. But we hope and trust for the best and believe ere long we shall have the great pleasure of rejoicing over the decapitation of Johnson (his accidency)

General the Colored men have announced me as their candidate for the U. S. Senate and as it is a position of great power and importance it is reasonable to suppose I am quite ambitious to attain it and can you advance me in my desires. Could you not write me a letter of such a character that I could publish the same. Your influence here is great and anything from you of a favorable character would be greatly to my advantage, especially my conduct as a soldier while under your Command. if you can accommodate me in that manner please do so.¹⁰

With my regards for your health and welfare [*sic*] I am most respectfully

Your obt sevt.

Charles H. Fox

¹⁰ W. P. Kellogg and J. B. Harris were selected as the state's two Senators. Lonn, *Reconstruction in Louisiana*, 5-6.

Vignettes

“ . . . THE MOST ELOQUENT FIRST FINGER THAT MAN EVER POSSESSED ”

“ . . . I do not think Mr. Soulé could have been called a learned man, but with his sonorous voice and graceful gestures, to say nothing of his marvellous [*sic*] personal magnetism, he was the most remarkable ‘spellbinder’ it was ever my good fortune to see or listen to. During the early part of the civil war when we southerners paid a great deal more attention to florid oratory than we did to drilling, Mr. Soulé used when making a public address, to strike a graceful attitude and raise his right arm, and his first finger would commence to tremble. That was the most eloquent first finger that man ever possessed. Without saying a word he could hold an audience enthralled as long as he chose to let it tremble. When New Orleans was captured by Farragut’s fleet I saw him hold a maddened mob spellbound in front of the Mint [City Hall] by simply letting that finger tremble while the federal officers made their escape out of a back door, The Mob were [*sic*] swearing that they were going to kill the Yankee officers, and on the fleet the men were standing at their guns, lanyards in hand, and Farragut, a man of his word, was swearing that if a hair of the heads of his messengers was harmed that he would not leave two bricks standing on top of each other in New Orleans. Undoubtedly the Crescent City owed its escape to the extraordinary length of time Mr. Soulé’s finger trembled, and the Federal officers owed their lives to the same peculiarity of the digit.”

James Morris Morgan to Dr. Milledge L. Bonham, October 16, 1916. In the Historical Society of East and West Baton Rouge Records, Department of Archives, Louisiana State University. New Orleans born, Ex-Confederate naval officer Morgan was the author of *Recollections of a Rebel Reefer* (1917). Dr. Bonham was a member of the Louisiana State University History Department from 1912 to 1919, headed that department from 1917 to 1919, and was the author of *The British Consuls in the Confederacy* (1911).

Louisiana State University

JAMES O. LANG

TERRITORIAL MILITIA UNIFORMS

GENERAL ORDERS.

Head Quarters, New Orleans 12th Augt 1805

The commander in Chief of the militia of this Territory, hereby prescribes the several uniforms of the officers thereof.

The uniform of the Brigadier General, shall be a long blue coat, yellow buttons with buff facings and linings and buff under clothes:—He shall be distinguished by a white Plume, and two Gold epaulets, with a silver star in each.

The uniform of Aids de Camp, shall be that of the Staff to which they belong, except that their epaulets shall be plain, and the aids of the commander in Chief, shall wear green plumes, and those of the Brigadier general blue.

The uniform of the adjutant General, shall be the same as the aids de Camp, except that his plume shall be red. The uniform of Colonels and Majors shall be a long blue coat, white buttons, red facings, white linings, and white under clothes, they shall be distinguished by a pair of Silver epaulets, and white Plumes.

The uniforms of the Brigade Majors shall be the same as that of the Colonels of regiments, except that the Plumes of the former shall be Black.

All the commissioned officers shall wear a long blue Coat, white buttons, and white linings (except [*sic*] artillery officers, who shall have red linings, and yellow buttons) white under cloths and half Boots. Captains shall be distinguished by an Epaulet on the Right shoulder, of the colour of their buttons, and Subalterns by one on the left.

All commissioned officers shall wear black Stocks, Cocked Hats, and black Cocades, ornamented with eagles, of the colour of their buttons, and red *silk sashes*; *those* of the General and field officers to be worn around their waists out side of the coat, those of inferior rank underneath.

Red waistcoats and blue pantaloons may be occasionally substituted in the place of white under cloths, by the order or permission of officers commanding regiments;—and as many officers may not be able to provide themselves immediately with silver epaulets, they are per-

mitted to continue the use of such as they may have for the space of six months from the date of these orders. Captains and Subalterns attached to the Battalion of Orleans Volunteers, will wear the uniform heretofore prescribed them.

By order of the Commander in Chief

(Signed) M. FORTIER junior

Aide-De-Camp

John Graham to James Madison, February 13, 1806, Clarence E. Carter (ed.), *The Territory of Orleans, 1803-1812* (Vol. IX of *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, Washington, 1940), 584-585.

Louisiana State University

THE EDITORS



LOUISIANA GOVERNMENTAL SALARIES, 1721

The Governor-General	12,000 livres,	\$2500
The Lieutenant-Governor	5,000 "	1000
The Principal Director of the Company	12,000 "	2500
The Chief Clerk of the Factories	5,900 "	1140
The Store-Keeper	1,500 "	300
The Captain commanding at New Orleans	1,800 "	360
The Captain commanding at Missouri	1,000 "	250
The Captain commanding at Illinois	700 "	140
The Captain commanding at Biloxi	700 "	140

Guillaume Tell Poussin, *The United States; Its Power and Progress*, Edmund L. Du Barry, translator (1st American edition, from the 3rd Paris edition, Philadelphia, 1851), 204.

Louisiana State University

THE EDITORS

Report on Second Annual Meeting

The second annual meeting of the reorganized Louisiana Historical Association was held in New Orleans on March 10, 11, and 12, 1960. Headquarters for the meeting was the Sheraton-Charles Hotel. Over 100 members registered for the meeting, representing all regions of the state.

Three reading sessions dealt with the history of Louisiana. On the morning of March 11, in the Jackson Room of the Sheraton-Charles, Joseph G. Tregle of Louisiana State University in New Orleans presided over a meeting devoted to political history. William H. Adams of Southwestern Louisiana Institute spoke on "The Louisiana Whigs: An Appraisal." He was followed by Philip D. Uzee of Francis T. Nicholls State College whose topic was "The Republican Party in the Louisiana Election of 1896."

Following a luncheon in the Beauregard Room of the Sheraton-Charles, a session on Louisiana in the Civil War, presided over by Charles P. Roland of Tulane University, took place in the Jackson Room. Mrs. Martina Buck of Southeastern Louisiana College discussed and read excerpts from the diary of "A Louisiana Prisoner of War on Johnson's Island, 1863-1865." Charles L. Dufour of the *New Orleans States* and *New Orleans Item* advanced the thesis that the fall of New Orleans was the decisive event of the Civil War in a paper entitled "The Night the War Was Lost." The last paper, by John D. Winters of Louisiana Polytechnic Institute, was entitled "Unvexed to the Sea: The Siege of Port Hudson."

In the late afternoon a reception for the members of the Association was held at the Confederate Museum, 929 Camp Street. Preceding the reception, members gathered at the museum to watch a televised panel discussion of "The Creoles of Louisiana" over Station WYES-TV. Participants in the

discussion were: John Kyser, Acting President of the Association and President of Northwestern State College, Joseph G. Tregle, Edwin Adams Davis, Charles L. Dufour, and Charles P. Roland. Kenneth Trist Urquhart was moderator of the discussion.

The annual dinner of the Association took place in the Jackson Room on the evening of March 11. The members were welcomed to New Orleans by City Commissioner Henry B. Curtis. At this dinner Mr. C. J. Peltier, teacher of history at Morgan City High School, was cited for his outstanding achievements in producing enthusiastic study of Louisiana History on the part of his students. An honorary membership in the Association was awarded to Mr. Ernst Seemann of the Louisiana State University Press for his work in designing the format of *Louisiana History*. Sidney Romero of Southeastern Louisiana College introduced John Kyser, whose presidential address was entitled "Portrait of Louisiana." Dr. Kyser's theme was the effect of the state's surface features, geology, and climate upon its historical development.

On the morning of Saturday, March 12, a session devoted to the history of Louisiana architecture was held in the University College Auditorium of Tulane University. Kenneth Trist Urquhart of St. Mary's Dominican College presided over this session, which consisted of an illustrated lecture entitled "Architectural Development in Louisiana" by Samuel Wilson, Jr., of Koch and Wilson, Architects. Following this session a luncheon and business meeting was held in the Stone Room of the Tulane University Student Center. Those present heard "The Founding of *Louisiana History*: The Editor's Report" by Edwin Adams Davis.

The disposition of the business of the Association began with a meeting of the Board of Directors on the evening of Thursday, March 10. President Kyser reported on his conversations with state budget officers and indicated the apparent need for a study of the legal status of the Louisiana Historical Association. The Board directed President Kyser to discuss publication funds for *Louisiana History* with Presi-

dent Troy Middleton of Louisiana State University. The Secretary-Treasurer was authorized to renew the Association's membership in the National Trust for Historic Preservation, the American Association for State and Local History, and the American Museum Association. The Memorial Hall Committee, composed of Joe G. Taylor, Martin Hall, John D. Winters, and Judge A. Wilmot Dalferes, was designated as the Association's liaison with the Port Hudson Steering Committee. A nominating committee was elected as follows: Max V. Bradbury, Chairman, Ada M. Stabatier, Yvonne Phillips, John D. Winters, and Robert C. Reinders. The Board went on record as favoring appropriate Civil War Centennial observances in Louisiana and authorized President Kyser to appoint a steering committee to work with other interested groups toward this end. The Association's Marker Committee was urged to map out a state-wide program with suggested priorities and to present its findings to the new Director of Commerce and Industry. The Board agreed to transfer the membership matters from the office of the Secretary-Treasurer to that of the Executive Secretary. The Secretary-Treasurer asked, for personal work load reasons, that regular publication of the *News Letter* be dispensed. The Board voted that the 1961 meeting be held in Shreveport.

At the business meeting following the Saturday luncheon John S. Kyser was elected President for a full term. Other officers elected were: Joseph G. Tregle, Vice President; John C. L. Andreassen, Secretary-Treasurer. Elected to the Board of Directors were Mrs. Max V. Bradbury, Charles L. Dufour, and Robert L. Crisler. Resolutions were adopted expressing the gratitude of the Association to the Sheraton-Charles Hotel, Tulane University, the Local Arrangements Committee, and the Program Committee. Allied organizations commended for their work during the past year were Louisiana Landmarks Society, Friends of the Cabildo, New Iberia Colonials, Port Hudson Steering Committee, Restoration of Historic Natchitoches, Inc., Louisiana Genealogical and Historical Society, the Southwestern Louisiana Historical Society, North Louisiana Historical Association, and the Central Louisiana

Historical Association. Unanimous commendation of the Association was given to Governor-Elect James H. Davis for the following plank in the Davis-Aycock platform:

History and Traditions. The people of Louisiana are justly proud of the glorious history of our state. We must not neglect our historical institutions, buildings, monuments, museums, and shrines. We will do everything we can to preserve and improve the things and places that have special historical and traditional significance such as the Presbytere, and Jackson Square in New Orleans. The administration of such facilities will be free of political interference.

The Honorable James H. Davis also received the commendation of the Association's members for the statements made in a story carried in the *New Orleans States* and *New Orleans Item* for January 1, 1960, under the by-line of Alex Vuillemot, which follows:

'Today in Louisiana many members of historical societies are spending their own time and money to keep intact our cultural heritage.

'We are fortunate that there are enough civic-minded individuals around to have preserved much of our past in documentary form. But at best this has been a losing battle.

'Unless many of these individuals receive some sympathetic assistance from the state, Louisiana eventually will cease to be any different than many of our states which have no history to fall back on.

. . . 'many of the contributions toward preservation of Louisiana's cultural heritage were made possible by the enlightened attitude of business and industry.' He said many firms had underwritten projects of historical or cultural importance as public relations gestures.

'I think we should offer these individuals, groups and firms some guarantee that the state will do its share. It just isn't right for us to sit idly by and watch beautiful buildings crumble, historical sites go unrestored and priceless documents disappear into oblivion.'

President Kyser was instructed to appoint a committee to consider the possibility of a one-day meeting of the Association at

Baton Rouge to commemorate the sesquicentennial of the West Florida Rebellion of 1810. Judge A. Wilmot Dalferes proposed that the membership campaign be stepped up by setting up the membership committee on a congressional district and parish basis, and he was promptly appointed Chairman of that committee. The most disturbing note at the meeting was sounded by Secretary-Treasurer Andreassen, who called attention to the rapidly declining financial resources of the Association and emphasized the necessity for some type of subsidy if *Louisiana History* is to continue publication.

Following the business meeting a brief meeting of the Board of Directors was held at which G. W. McGinty and Charles L. Dufour were elected to the Executive Committee by acclamation.

All those present agreed that the second annual meeting was as successful as the first meeting at Alexandria a year ago. Attendance exceeded expectations, and the quality of the papers read was high in terms of interest and professional competence. This meeting and the first issue of *Louisiana History* demonstrate that the Louisiana Historical Association is on a sound basis professionally, fully capable of carrying out its function of preserving and arousing public interest in the history of Louisiana. Badly needed is the financial support which will make it possible for the Association to continue the work it has begun.

Notes and Comments

MEETINGS

Several Louisiana social scientists are scheduled to appear on the program of the annual convention of the Southwestern Social Science Association to be held at the Statler Hilton Hotel in Dallas, April 14-15. Jack D. L. Holmes of McNeese State College will present a paper entitled "The Development of Law and Order on the Spanish-American Frontier: Natchez, 1785-1797." Thomas L. Karnes of Tulane University will serve as discussion leader at a session on Latin American history. T. Harry Williams of Louisiana State University will be a discussant at a session dealing with "Reform and Reformers." At a European history panel, Walter C. Richardson of Louisiana State University will preside, Amos E. Simpson of Southwestern Louisiana Institute will read a paper on "Diplomacy and the Young Plan of 1929," and John L. Snell of Tulane University will serve as discussion leader. Numerous other staff members from Louisiana colleges will attend the meeting.

The Mississippi Historical Society held its annual convention at the Buena Vista Hotel, Biloxi, March 4-5. The general theme of the program was "Eve of Conflict: Mississippi in 1860." The address at the annual dinner, given on Friday evening, March 4, was given by U. S. Grant III, USA (Ret.), who spoke on the subject, "The War was Won in the West." The following papers were read: Jack W. Gunn, Mississippi College, "Mississippi in 1860 as Reflected in the Activities of the Governor's Office"; Joseph Stevens, Mississippi Southern College, "Mississippi in Congress in 1860"; John K. Bettersworth, Mississippi State University, "Mississippi Culture in 1860"; Margaret Des Champs Moore, University of Mississippi, "Religion in Mississippi in 1860." William D. McCain, President of Mississippi Southern College, addressed the Friday luncheon session on "Mississippi Education in 1860." On Friday afternoon the Gulf Coast chapters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy entertained at tea at "Beauvoir," the home of Jefferson Davis, and on Saturday afternoon a large number visited Fort Massachusetts. The 1959-1960 President of the Society was Florence Sillers Ogden of Rosedale.

A meeting to organize a Landmarks Chapter for LaFourche and Terrebonne parishes was held on March 16 at the Municipal Auditorium in Houma. Future organizational meetings will be held in East and West Baton Rouge, Iberville, Lafayette, St. Landry, and Iberia Parishes.

The Louisiana Genealogical and Historical Society will hold its second meeting of the year at the St. Landry Parish Courthouse, Opelousas, on April 9 at 2 p.m. Mrs. L. Austin Fontenot, Jr., will speak on "Genealogical and Historical Records Available in Opelousas and Vicinity."

The Central Louisiana Historical Society held its first meeting of 1960 on January 11 at Alexandria. The following officers were elected: Leon P. Bergeron, President; F. Jay Taylor, Vice-President; Mrs. Louise W. Brown, Secretary-Treasurer. Kenneth Trist Urquhart, Executive Secretary of the Louisiana Historical Association, spoke on the history of the Association.

The Louisiana Library Association held its annual meeting on March 24, 25, 26, 1960, at Monroe. Kate Wallach of the Louisiana State University Law Library was elected President, effective July 1, succeeding Miss Jane Ellen Carstens of Hamilton Laboratory School Library, Southwestern Louisiana Institute.

PERSONALS

The History Department, Tulane University: *1960 Summer Session staff*: First semester: David Dowd (University of Florida), Edward Miles (University of Houston), Kenneth T. Urquhart (Dominican College), William R. Hogan; Second semester: Claude Pike (Mississippi Southern College), Robert Reinders.

The Department of Social Studies, Southwestern Louisiana Institute: *1960 Summer Session staff*: William H. Adams, Walter R. Craddock, formerly of the University of North Carolina who has joined the staff, W. Magruder Drake, Sylvester J. Hemleben, Amos E. Simpson, Charles L. Stansifer, Carroll C. Gates (Louisiana State University). Robert M. Albert, Vincent Cassidy, Robert R. Miller, and Paul J. Stewart, Jr., will work on research projects during the coming summer. William Adams was awarded the Ph.D. degree at the Louisiana State University January commencement.

The Department of History, Louisiana College: *1960 Summer Session staff*: F. Jay Taylor, E. Frank Masingill. Jay Taylor will spend

several weeks of the coming summer at the Air University, Montgomery, Alabama, doing research for a biography of General Claire Lee Chennault; Frank Masingill will work on an article on American-Mexican relations during the administration of Woodrow Wilson.

The Social Science Department, McNeese State College: *1960 Summer Session staff*: R. A. Suarez, C. W. Fogleman, Clet J. Gary, Martin Hall, William B. Knipmeyer, Donald J. Millet. Ada M. Sabateir will study in Europe during the coming summer, and G. R. Cole will continue graduate study at Louisiana State University.

J. B. Patrick, Louisiana Polytechnic Institute, has resigned effective June 1 to accept another position; W. Y. Thompson will be on leave during the coming summer to do research for a proposed biography of Robert Toombs.

The Social Science Department, Southeastern Louisiana College: *1960 Summer Session staff*: Martina E. Buck, Harold J. Leu, George W. Bedsole, John P. Reed, F. H. Bankston, Wayne Newkirk, C. Howard Nichols. Sidney J. Romero was granted a leave for the summer to do research on the Confederate chaplain; Ervin Mancil will work on his Ph.D. dissertation.

The Department of Social Sciences, Northeast Louisiana College: *1960 Summer Session staff*: Joseph R. Brown, Nallie W. Hickman, William R. Scurlock, Arthur L. Tatum, William A. Walker. Ted B. Ferguson will spend the summer completing his Ph.D. dissertation.

Kenneth Urquhart will teach a course in Louisiana history at St. Mary's Dominican College during the 1960 Summer Session.

The Department of History, Louisiana State University: *1960 Summer Session staff*: John Duffy, Walter C. Richardson, Jane Lucas deGrummond, Robert C. Holtman, Edwin Adams Davis, and Burl Noggle of New Mexico State University, who will become a permanent staff member. J. Preston Moore will sail for Spain in the early fall to continue research on the second volume of his study on the Cabildo in the Spanish dependencies.

ALLIED ORGANIZATIONS

William J. Murtaugh, assistant to the president of the National Trust for the Preservation of Historic Homes, spoke in New Iberia on January 18 at the invitation of the New Iberia Chapter of the Louisiana Colonials, explaining the foundation's plan for the preser-

vation of "The Shadows," the noted antebellum plantation home of Weeks Hall, bequeathed to the National Trust at Hall's death two years ago. With the use of slides, Murtaugh showed how many historic homes in the nation have been restored, preserved, and in some cases, reconstructed. In speaking of "The Shadows" he said, "The Shadows can be considered a 3 dimensional historical document . . . it will interpret life as it was in the 1830's in Louisiana." Hall was quoted as saying: "I have lived on the place attending it and building it. Nothing in life has meant, or will mean, more to me than this garden on a summer morning before sunrise . . . at all hours, no place is more tranquil nor more ageless. Its inherent charm to me has been its placid seclusion from a changing world, and in that, will be its quality to others . . . this quality must be preserved."

The Association of Natchitoches Women for the Preservation of Historic Natchitoches reports the following highlights of its 1959 activities: January 27—sponsored an address by Jacob H. Morrison of New Orleans, member of the Vieux Carre Commission and of the Louisiana Landmarks Society; May 9—host to the meeting of the Northwest Louisiana Historical Association; June 17—participated in the Shreveport world premiere of the movie "Horse Soldiers," which was partially filmed in the Natchitoches area; August 8—greeted seven bus loads of Marksville delegates who were on tour advertising the Marksville Sesquicentennial; October 10-11—assisted in the 5th Annual Historical Tour of the Natchitoches area, during which more than 1,000 guests from 19 states and one foreign country were registered. The Association's officers are Mrs. John S. Kyser, General Chairman; Carmen Breazeale, First Vice Chairman, and Corresponding Secretary; Mrs. Peyton Cunningham, Second Vice Chairman; Mrs. George Sutton, Recording Secretary; Mrs. Herman Taylor, Sr., Treasurer. The Association was organized in 1943.

At the February 11 joint meeting of the Lincoln Parish Historical Society and the Ruston Writers Club, G. W. McGinty of Louisiana Polytechnic Institute spoke on "Some Comments on the History of Louisiana."

P. A. Walker of Louisiana Polytechnic Institute will participate in a panel discussion of "The Impact of Increased College Enrollment on the Social Sciences" at the Social Science section of the Louisiana College Conference in New Orleans on April 4. His colleague, John D. Winters, will speak to the North Louisiana Historical Association at Mansfield on April 23 on "The Battle of Mansfield."

One organization which is very active in promoting an interest in the history of this state is the Port Hudson Steering Committee. They are especially interested in seeing that Port Hudson receives its rightful place in the history of the Civil War and in the preservation of the Port Hudson Battle Field.

MISCELLANY

J. D. L. Holmes, McNeese State College, spoke before the Houston Civil War Round Table in late March on "Forrest's Raid in Tennessee."

R. O. Trout and LeMar Stephan, Louisiana Poltyechnic Institute, are collaborating in the preparation of a series of film strips on geographic and historic sites of Louisiana.

Kenneth Urquhart, St. Mary's Dominican College, is offering a course in Louisiana History over WYES, Channel 8, every Friday from 5:30 to 6:00 p.m. during the current semester.

Mrs. L. A. Fontenot, Jr., Chairman of the Opelousas Museum Commission, and Dudley A. Tatman, the Museum's Curator, have announced the construction of a new sign for the JIM BOWIE HOUSE, the home of the Museum, the acquisition of a number of manuscripts pertaining to the Bowie family, and the issuing of a fishing and sight-seeing guide to the Opelousas area and a tourist guide to the Opelousas area industry.

The twenty-second series of the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History, sponsored by the Louisiana State University Graduate School and the Department of History, were presented February 8-9 by John Richard Alden, Professor of History and Chairman of the Department of History, Duke University. The general subject of the lectures was "The First South, 1775-1789." Individual lectures were "The First South," "North and South in the Revolutionary Congress," and "The South Ratifies the Constitution." Clement W. Eaton of the University of Kentucky will be the 1961 lecturer.

In the January, 1960, issue of *The Journal of Mississippi History*, Willie D. Dalsell published "A Bibliography of Theses and Dissertations Relating to Mississippi, 1959." Those of possible interest to Louisianians include:

Haynes, Robert V., "A Political History of the Mississippi Territory, 1795-1817." Ph.D., Rice Institute, Spring, 1959.

James, Dorris Clayton, "Territorial Natchez," M.A., Mississippi State University, Summer, 1959.

Roberts, Clarence W., "The Chickasaws and the Great Colonial Powers, 1540-1750." M.A., Mississippi State University, Summer, 1959.

Samuel Wilson, Jr., Louisiana architect and past president of the Louisiana Landmarks Society, has been appointed Chairman of the Committee for the Preservation of Historical Buildings of the American Institute of Architects.

"POOR CONDITION OF CABILDO AND PRESBYTERE. Repeated attention has been drawn to the alarmingly poor physical condition of these buildings. Both are in urgent need of emergency repairs, and it is imperative that the Louisiana Legislature appropriate sufficient money to at least start restoration work to prevent the loss of these irreplaceable buildings. Not only are funds needed to preserve the buildings, but additional funds are needed to protect the many valuable acquisitions which now lie in boxes and crates instead of being properly displayed or made readily available. Fortunately, Friends of the Cabildo are actively pressing for needed legislation to provide necessary funds, but their efforts can certainly be augmented by added support directed to State Legislators by interested individuals." *Preservation* (published by the Louisiana Landmarks Society), vol. III (January, 1960), 3.

Annie Lou Murphy of the Department of Commerce and Industry reports the following historical markers purchased and/or erected during 1959:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>
Roncall	Kentwood
Convent	Convent
Breaux Bridge	Breaux Bridge
Opelousas	Opelousas
Last Island	Houma
Allendale Plantation	Port Allen
Camp Moore	Kentwood
Ouachita River	
Steamboat Era	Columbia
Bossier Shed Road	Bossier City

The *Proceedings* of the Third Annual Institute of the Louisiana Genealogical and Historical Society will be available in April.

Members will be interested to know that membership in the Louisiana Historical Association passed the 500 mark on February 19, 1960. Encouraging as this is, there is still much that needs to be done in the way of getting new members. If each member would make it a project to secure one new member, this would mean that the total membership would be 1000. Surely there are that many individuals in the state interested enough in the history of their state to join the Association were they contacted and encouraged.

Fort Jessup state park on Highway 6, near Many, was formally dedicated on March 27. Restoration of Fort Jessup was made possible through the efforts of the Louisiana State Parks and Recreation Commission, the Louisiana Department of Public Works, and the State Highway Department.

A project being considered in New Orleans is a Civic Attractions Fund, which would function for the benefit of art and historical museums, educational television, jazz, opera, and symphony.

Under a grant from the Council on Library Resources, Inc., the Virginia State Library, under the technical supervision of W. J. Barrow, has developed a new type of paper with a life expectancy of at least 300 years. This project was years in development and has had the services of many libraries, scientists, institutions and firms. Recently a pamphlet was published, entitled "Deterioration of Book Stock, Causes and Remedies." This work, edited by Randolph W. Church, is printed on this new enduring paper.

The Louisiana State University College of Arts and Sciences presented its centennial program in honor of Louisiana State University's 100th anniversary on March 11, 1960. Moderating the symposium entitled "The South Looks at Itself" was T. Harry Williams, Boyd Professor of History at LSU. The panel was composed of Charles L. Dufour, columnist for the *New Orleans States* and *New Orleans Item*, who delivered a paper on "The Changing Southern Culture," Richard J. Russell, Director of the LSU Coastal Studies Institute and Professor of Geography, who spoke on "The Impact of Science on the South," Samuel Wilson, Jr., of Koch and Wilson, Architects, who discussed "Art and Architecture in the South," and Martin Shockley, Professor of American Literature at North Texas State College, who spoke on "Literature in the South." Also as a part of the symposium were exhibits on Louisiana's colorful past, a band concert, and the dramatic production of George Bernard Shaw's "The Devil's Disciple."

The Forest History Foundation, Inc., of St. Paul, Minnesota, has chosen the Louisiana State University Department of Archives as one of the few "approved repositories of North American forest history." The Foundation is a non-profit organization dedicated to the preservation, collection and dissemination of the forest history of North America. Parrish Fuller, president of Hillyer-Deutsch-Edwards, Inc., of Oakdale, in presenting a certificate of the Foundation to Vergil L. Bedsole, Head of the LSU Department of Archives, said Louisiana State University "has made a profound contribution to the management of the nation's forests, both public and private It is gratifying to see," Fuller concluded, "that in this magnificent institution a collection of source materials on forest history is being built up."

obstacles, pumping stations, and telegraph and telephone lines. In June, 1910, the line was completed, and the first movement of crude to Baton Rouge began.

The largest part of the book is concerned with the extension of trunk and gathering lines to new and prolific fields first in Louisiana, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Kansas, and later in Mississippi, Illinois, Wyoming, and Montana. By 1959 the company had more than 4,500 miles of trunk and gathering lines and was one of the major crude oil pipe line companies of the country. Litigation, governmental regulations, technological improvements, employee-management relations, earnings and dividends, management organization, relationship of the Jersey Company to the pipe line company, research and development, and mobilization for war form an integral part of the history.

The book is well written and very readable. It is well documented and has an excellent annotated bibliography. The format is attractive. Many photographs, old and modern, and useful maps enhance the reader's interest.

Hamline University

PAUL H. GIDDENS

GENTLE TIGER: The Gallant Life of Roberdeau Wheat. By Charles L. Dufour. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1957. xvi, 232 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography. \$3.50.)

Chatham Roberdeau Wheat was a nineteenth century soldier of fortune who commanded the almost legendary Louisiana Tigers during the Civil War. With them he fought in some of the bloodiest battles of the war—at Bull Run, in the Valley with Stonewall Jackson, and in the Seven Days. His exploits with this fierce group of Louisiana fighters were heroic indeed, and these escapades, so vividly described by Mr. Dufour, read like fiction.

Rob Wheat was born in Alexandria, Virginia, April 9, 1826. His family resided in Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, Louisiana, and finally moved to Tennessee where young Wheat grew up in Nashville. Wheat's spectacular pre-war career included service in the Mexican War as a second lieutenant in the Tennessee Volunteers, a colonelcy in the ill-fated Lopez expedition to free Cuba in 1850, filibustering in North Mexico and Nicaragua, and in 1860, he traveled to Italy to join Garibaldi as a general officer. Interspersed among these varied adventures, he practiced law in New Orleans and Memphis and served in the Louisiana House of Representatives.

In 1861 Wheat returned to Louisiana and recruited volunteers for the Confederate Army. His Louisiana Tigers enjoyed a reputation not undeserved. Freeman called them "the toughest battalion in the army" while a Virginia soldier exclaimed that, "They neither fear God, man or the Devil. They are the lowest scrapings of the Mississippi and New Orleans" (p. 5). Another lad from South Carolina called the Tigers "the worse men I ever saw," and added, "I understand that they are mostly wharf rats from New Orleans, and Major Wheat was the only man who could do anything with them. They were always ready to fight, and it made little difference to them who they fought" (p. 5). In fact, at the battle of Manassas when fired upon by South Carolina troops, the Tigers quickly returned the fire without hesitation.

Major Wheat was wounded in the Manassas campaign. He returned to action at the Battle of Gaines' Mill, but was shot in the head and died on the field of battle (June 27, 1862). His beloved Tigers buried him where he fell. Later the body was removed to Richmond.

Although plagued by a dearth of source material, Mr. Dufour's study is most interesting and well-written. Students of the Civil War and Louisiana History will find it richly rewarding.

Louisiana College

F. JAY TAYLOR

GEORGE W. CABLE: A Biography. By Arlin Turner. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1956. 391 pp. Bibliography, index. \$6.00.)

Present-day students of American literature and the American past are too likely to come away from their courses with an impression of George Washington Cable as a local-color author and little else. This biography, which has brought Arlin Turner well-deserved recognition from the Southern Historical Association, should contribute much to a correction of such errors. This book shows Cable as a writer of great abilities and as an important critic of American society in the late nineteenth century.

The facts of Cable's life are covered thoroughly from his boyhood in New Orleans through his service in the Confederate Army and on through his long career as author and reformer. The research which went into the making of this volume was thorough, but it is not permitted to intrude upon the narrative.

The historian may be disappointed in the treatment of Cable's departure from the conventional Southern point of view on the race question. The evidence indicating his gradual change in attitude is given step by step, but the reader may feel that the author fails to explain the reasons for this change in attitude. In rebuttal, the author might reply with good reason that changes in attitude are emotional as well as intellectual, and that guesswork as to a subject's inner feelings have no place in a factual biography.

This is a book for the student of American literature, for the historian, and for the general reader. The consideration of Cable's works is extensive; their faults do not escape censure, but it is evident that Turner enjoyed his reading. In describing Cable's career, the author provides a good social study of New Orleans and the South after the Civil War, and to a lesser degree of the United States from 1880 until after the turn of the century. For the general reader there are fascinating glimpses of Mark Twain, Henry James, Booker T. Washington, Andrew Carnegie, and other great figures of the period. For all there is the well-told story of George Washington Cable, a major author, a man far ahead of his time in his thinking on social problems, and a fine Christian gentleman.

Francis T. Nicholls State College

JOE G. TAYLOR

WITH BEAUREGARD IN MEXICO. Edited by T. Harry Williams. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1956. Illustrations, maps, appendix, index, \$4.75.)

Five years after the Mexican War Beauregard decided that the sword had failed him in obtaining the recognition which he felt was justly his. He then resorted to that other, often more powerful weapon, the pen. Today, over a hundred years later, his writings have been made available to us.

Presented attractively, introduced in the eminently readable Williams style, Beauregard's Mexican War reminiscences cover a six month period that is crammed full of history making events. A perusal of these reminiscences, however, will reveal little regarding the Mexican War and its heroes that may not be found in other context. Neither will such a perusal give a very accurate picture of military life back then; for, if we are to believe Beauregard, the well trained military man of 1840's was primarily concerned with glory seeking. Patriotism meant little to him. The inner satisfaction of a job well

done meant less than nothing; if, that is, the deeds involved in the "job well done" were not mentioned in the official reports by name and number. Competition was of the essence. One didn't promise to fight his "best for his country"; rather, one vowed that "no one of my grade in the service could surpass me in zeal and activity." Soldiers were evidently a calm, cool lot. "Tearing shoes and pantaloons" while crossing the pedregal, or lava beds, apparently caused more mental anguish than intimate encounters with death and suffering.

The historian can be truly grateful that he need not rely on Beauregard's memoirs alone for his knowledge of the Mexican War. There is, however, another group that may find them of great value. This group consists of the arm chair generals and the pseudo-psychiatrists who delight in dissecting the great and near great of ages past. To these people, a persual of the memoirs is rewarding, shedding, as it does, a beam of light upon the blur which represents the enigmatic Beauregardian character itself.

Southeastern Louisiana College

SIDNEY ROMERO

BEN BUTLER: The South Called Him BEAST! By Hans L. Trefousse. (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1957. 256 pp. Illustrated, bibliography, index. \$5.00.)

Benjamin Franklin Butler, more familiarly known to Louisiana tradition as Beast Butler and Spoon Butler, acquired many other uncomplimentary appellations during his long career, 1818 to 1893. Not until 1954 (R. S. Holtzman, *Stormy Ben Butler*), and Professor Trefousse's volume, was there scholarly approach to Butler's bizarre career.

Butler had one thread that ran unbroken throughout his life, controversial notoriety purchased at any price. As a lawyer defending the "poor and oppressed," the depraved, the criminal, the political rogues, or the wealthy client, he had but one criterion; high fees and publicity, which justified any means necessary to win a case, short of legal self incrimination. Butler was sensitive on only two points: the allegation that his father had been hanged as a pirate, and his total lack of victories as one of the highest ranking Union generals.

President Lincoln and General Grant feared Butler's military stupidity and also his political power. He was an excellent administrator, but he thirsted for victories and headlines. The political general failed miserably before Richmond where Grant reported

him as being uselessly "bottled up." These words haunted Butler the remainder of his life. The cartoonist Nast portrayed Butler as "Bottled Up" "A Curiosity of Nature," a mishaped foetal monstrosity. Butler's personal appearance made such a cartoon all the more pointed.

Professor Trefousse shows how facilely Butler ran the gamut of political allegiances. As a political realist he aligned himself for his own personal advantages. He supported causes, perhaps honestly, for better working conditions, and for shorter hours and higher wages. Professor Trefousse fails to note that Butler paid lower wages in his own mills than those he attacked. Until the Civil War made it politically unwise he had no quarrel with slavery. In the 1860 Charleston Democratic Convention Butler voted fifty times for Jefferson Davis. Later he was rabid on the subject of Negroes. He favored women suffrage, inflation, Greenbacks, and the seizure of Canada.

Butler was pre-eminent among the criminal lawyers of his day. In the courtroom "up roar and disorder were his stock in trade." Butler cursed and maligned opposing counsel and witness. Even a judge was not immune. His venomous rhetoric flouted the accepted codes of lawyer, citizen and statesman. As a result he gained headlines, votes, and the fear of political allies and opponents alike. He was probably as deeply hated by large segments in the North as he was in the South. After the war Butler spent years in Congress. He was a powerful Radical reconstruction leader, and was the leading manager in conducting President Andrew Johnson's impeachment.

Professor Trefousse recounts Butler's administration of New Orleans, his inflexibility in hanging William Mumford for removing the Union flag, the "infamous" (in the eyes of most of the world) General Order No. 28 which provided that under certain circumstances New Orleans ladies would be treated as common streetwalkers, and the exceedingly profitable and questionable commercial transactions carried out "unofficially" by the General's brother, Colonel Andrew Butler. The author seems to be defending and apologizing. "Spoon" Butler is explained as a ridiculous Confederate fabrication. Butler had money, therefore he did not need to steal spoons. Butler "bought" General David E. Twiggs silver for Butler's mother.

Professor Trefousse, like Butler's numerous political enemies who tried very hard for years, could find no "provable" dishonesty on Butler's part. His very large income (as a general, as an officeholder, and as advocate and defender of those involved in such scandals as

the *Crédit Moblier*) always came from "legimate legal fees." It is regrettable that Butler's misused talents caused him to be remembered as notorious rather than great. The volume is well written and its subject matter should interest Louisianians.

Centenary College of Louisiana

W. DARRELL OVERDYKE

ACADIAN ODYSSEY. By Oscar William Winzerling. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana, State University Press, 1955. 244 pp. Footnotes, appendix, index. \$4.85.)

This is the story of the rescue and rehabilitation of one particular group of the several thousands of Acadians ruthlessly torn from their homes by England in 1755 and unceremoniously dumped on the shores of colonial America, England and France. In one brief chapter is a condensed account of the settlement of Acadia (Nova Scotia) in 1604 by deMonts; the character and growth of its population; the political and military events leading to their deportation; and their hardships as exiles.

By the end of the Seven Years War in 1763, seven years after the deportation, the 1500 Acadians held as prisoners in the ports of England had been reduced by grief and disease to 866. The author's account of how Count Nivernois overcame their fears and suspicions, and, by secret negotiations, effected their return to France in 1763 is most interesting. There they joined some 2500 other Acadians who had sought refuge in the mother country. They were soon joined by other Acadians until their number by 1783 had reached nearly 4000. In several chapters are described their long sojourn in France; their misery; their appeals to the King to give them the farms he had promised; the attempts of French officials to settle them on barren and tropical islands; the selfish schemes of nobles to use them to clear their waste lands. All of these schemes left them hopeless and bitter.

Finally in 1783, twenty-seven years after their deportation, a champion of their cause appeared in the person of Peyroux de la Coudreniere, who had lived in Louisiana for seven years and accumulated a fortune there. He advanced the idea of having them settle in Spanish Louisiana. Here we come to the main purpose of the book. Then follows the detailed account of selling the idea to the disillusioned Acadians; the diplomatic exchanges that gained the consent of Louis XVI to let them leave France, and the agreement of King Charles III of Spain to finance their transportation to Louisiana and settle-

ment there. The negotiations leading to the chartering of the seven ships to transport the 1596 Acadian exiles to Louisiana throw much light on the problems of transportation in those times. Their warm reception in Louisiana and the able assistance of Martin Navarro, the Spanish intendent in New Orleans, in building new homes for them on free lands along the Mississippi, Bayou Lafourche, and in the Attakapas and Opelousas Districts leaves one feeling that there were still charity and justice in those days.

The book is a valuable contribution to the Acadian story, an epic in the colonization of America. It is well authenticated and represents much meticulous research in the colonial records of England, France and Spain.

Southwestern Louisiana Institute

HARRY LEWIS GRIFFIN

THE BAPTIST CHURCH IN THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY, 1776-1845. By Walter Brownlow Posey. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957, viii, 159 pp. Index. \$5.00.)

Dr. Posey, past president of the Southern Historical Association, has again made a distinct contribution to the records of the South. Having written two similar books on Methodist and Presbyterian Churches, he now presents this study concerning a third early church between the years 1776-1845, in the region lying between the Ohio River and the Gulf of Mexico.

The reader becomes fascinated from the very beginning with the author's entertaining style, which includes tales of backwoods people to show the influence of the church upon the frontier folk. From the earliest days of the Anglo-Saxon migration across the North American continent, the Baptist Church has been a significant force in sculpturing the history of the masses of the South. Each local church functioning in complete freedom from any central control, promised liberty and democracy to its members.

Few congregations of the early Baptist Church made any attempt to support their own ministers, but consonant with the development of the frontier, there came a change in their attitude. Unlike the educated ministers of other denominations, who they looked upon as hindrances to spontaneity and sincerity, the Baptist ministers, though lacking formal education, were sincere in their pursuit of their work and vigilant over the conduct of their members to such

an extent that the church became the focal point in establishing and promoting community life.

Because the church in the South found Scriptural grounds for defending slavery, a rift occurred that terminated in 1845, when the Southern Baptist Convention came into being, and the northern and southern Baptist churches became separated.

Evangelistic procedures in the picturesque revivals, known as "Camp Meetings," influenced the rural life of the South profoundly, and became so great an attraction that the Baptist Church eventually surpassed all Protestant denominations in membership.

This unbiased depiction of the religion of early settlers who, though possessing little property or worldly goods, passed on an indomitable spirit of independence, is authentic and it should endure through the years for it is of significant importance to students of history, sociology, and the church.

Byrd High School, Shreveport

MATTIE GRAY BROWN

PREHISTORIC INDIAN SETTLEMENTS OF THE CHANGING MISSISSIPPI RIVER DELTA. Louisiana State University Studies, Coastal Studies Series Number One. By William G. McIntire. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958. x, 128 pp. Maps, illustrations, diagrams, tables, appendix, bibliography. \$5.50.)

Dr. McIntire is a cultural-historical geographer who in this study sought to reconstruct the prehistoric settlement pattern of coastal Louisiana. As field evidence he collected artifacts left by the early occupants of the area and he examined mounds and middens as they were revealing of mode of living. Pottery, which in its form and decoration reflects changing fashions, was the key for establishing the relative temporal position of the several hundred habitation sites that were studied.

In an area dominantly marshy the primitive inhabitants had little choice in selecting building sites. West of Vermilion Bay, relatively high ground was provided by the *chenieres*, long, old beach ridges stranded in the marsh by the seaward growth of the coast. East of Vermilion Bay, choice sites were the high natural banks of the Mississippi and related streams.

As the Mississippi during the last three thousand years switched its deltaic discharge into the Gulf back and forth between Vermilion Bay and Mississippi Sound, so did the contemporary inhabitants occupy the banks of the latest stream. Thus the record of earliest human occupancy of a specific deltaic complex establishes the relative chronological position of that active stream among the six recognizable deltaic systems.

The five sequential cultural groupings identified for coastal Louisiana are generally those recognized for other sections of the Lower Mississippi Valley. They bear names meaningful in this sense only to the archaeologist: Tchefuncte, Marksville, Troyville, Coles Creek, and Plaquemine, in order from oldest to youngest. This relative age grouping was determined some years ago by archaeologic methods. The radio-carbon method of absolute dating, of recent introduction, confirmed the relative dating and established a time range of some two thousand years for coastal Louisiana, from about 1500 A.D. back to the beginning of the Christian Era.

The human chronology helped establish a parallel sequence for the six more-recent delta systems of the Mississippi: Teche, Metairie, Barataria, St. Bernard, Lafourche, and Balize, also in order from oldest to present. This order was confirmed and absolute dating established by radio-carbon tests.

Dr. McIntire's study is truly a scholarly, precedent-setting accomplishment. It earned its way by establishing the sequence of the Mississippi River's changing courses. It is only regrettable that more attention could not have been given to the ecological setting of the settlements themselves, thus contributing to a primary theme of human geography, man-land relations, as meaningful for prehistoric peoples as for any living group.

Louisiana State University

FRED KNIFFEN

SUMMER 1960
Vol. I, No. 3

LOUISIANA
HISTORY

THE JOURNAL OF THE
LOUISIANA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION



THE LOUISIANA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

PRESIDENT

John S. Kyser, Northwestern State College

VICE-PRESIDENT

Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., Louisiana State University in New Orleans

SECRETARY-TREASURER

John C. L. Andreassen

EXECUTIVE-SECRETARY

Kenneth Trist Urquhart, St. Mary's Dominican College

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Walter M. Lowrey, Francis T. Nicholls State College

A. L. Tatum, Northeastern State College

Mattie Gray Brown, Byrd High School, Shreveport

Raleigh Suarez, McNeese State College

Garnie William McGinty, Louisiana Polytechnic Institute

Sidney J. Romero, Southeastern Louisiana College

Edwin Adams Davis, Louisiana State University

Margaret M. Bradbury, Hamilton Terrace Junior

High School, Shreveport

Robert L. Crisler, Southwestern Louisiana Institute

Charles L. Dufour, *New Orleans States & New Orleans Item*

Kenneth Trist Urquhart, St. Mary's Dominican College

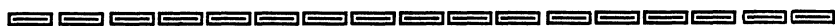
Colonel Henry B. Curtis, Washington Artillery, New Orleans

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

John S. Kyser, Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., John C. L. Andreassen,

Garnie W. McGinty, Charles L. Dufour

LOUISIANA HISTORY



Published quarterly by the
Louisiana Historical Association
in cooperation with
Louisiana State University



PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

Charles P. Roland, Tulane University
Raleigh A. Suarez, McNeese State College
Eugene P. Watson, Northwestern State College



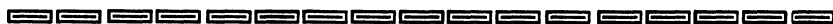
MANAGING EDITOR

Edwin Adams Davis



ASSOCIATE EDITOR

A. Otis Hebert, Jr.



SUMMER 1960 • Volume I, No. 3

Louisiana History is distributed to members of the Louisiana Historical Association. Single copies, \$2.00. Membership in the Association: *Individual*—Student, \$2.00; Active, \$5.00; Family, \$6.00; Contributing, \$25.00; Sustaining, \$100.00; Life, \$1,000.00. *Associate Organizations*—Active, \$10.00; Sustaining, \$100.00; *Cooperating Agencies*—Active, \$10.00. *Contributing Corporations*—Active, \$25.00; Sustaining, \$500.00. Correspondence should be addressed to the Secretary-Treasurer, 155 East Airport Avenue, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Permission is granted to reprint any article or other material, either in whole or in part, provided credit is given to *Louisiana History* (including date citation). The Louisiana Historical Association disclaims responsibility for statements whether of fact or of opinion made by contributors.

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be addressed to the Managing Editor, *Louisiana History*, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Louisiana History is published quarterly by the Louisiana Historical Association at Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Second-class postage paid at Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Contents

	PAGE
The St. Charles Hotel: New Orleans Social Center, 1837-1860	191
By <i>Martha Ann Peters</i>	
An Adventurous Voyage to French Colonial Louisiana; The Narrative of Mother Tranchepain, 1727	212
By <i>Marion Ware</i>	
The Lafourche District in 1862: Militia and Partisan Rangers	230
By <i>Barnes F. Lathrop</i>	
A Letter From a Yankee Bride in Ante-Bellum Louisiana	245
Edited by <i>John Q. Anderson</i>	
Pay the Preacher! Two Letters From Louisiana, 1864....	251
Edited by <i>Willard E. Wight</i>	
Vignettes	260
Notes and Comments	263
Book Reviews	269

Book Reviews:

	PAGE
Wiley, <i>This Infernal War, The Confederate Letters of Sgt. Edwin H. Fay</i> , by Martin Hardwick Hall.....	269
Davis, <i>Louisiana—The Pelican State</i> , by Margaret M. Bradbury....	270
McDermott, <i>The Lost Panoramas of the Mississippi</i> , by George A. Strokes	271
Loggins, <i>Where the Word Ends, The Life of Louis Moreau Gottschalk</i> , by Louis Ferraro.....	272
Carter, <i>So Great a Good, A History of the Episcopal Church in Louisiana and of Christ Church Cathedral, 1905-1955</i> by Robert C. Witcher.....	273

An Adventurous Voyage to French Colonial Louisiana; The Narrative of Mother Tranchepain, 1727

By MARION WARE

who teaches history at Lamar State College
of Technology.

EARLY IN 1727, a handful of excited nuns gathered at the Ursuline monastery of Hennebon, which lay against the rolling hills of southern Brittany less than a dozen miles northeast of the French port town of L'Orient, awaiting passage to the New World.¹ The exact destination of the religious was the infant but promising "city" of New Orleans, founded by the Louisiana colony's Governor Jean Baptiste le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville, a scant nine years before.² One outstanding need of the colonial capital on the Mississippi was for educational institutions and a primary purpose of the French *soeurs* was to found a school for girls whose parents did not wish to risk their daughters to a long and dangerous sea voyage back to the mother country or who could not afford their education in France.³ Today the Ursuline Academy in New Orleans represents over two hundred years

¹ Henry Churchill Semple (ed.), *The Ursulines in New Orleans and Our Lady of Prompt Succor: A Record of Two Centuries, 1725-1925* (New York, 1925), 10, 185. Marie Tranchepain de St. Augustin, *Relation du Voyage Des premières Ursulines à la Nouvelle Orléans et de leur établissement en cette ville* (New York, 1859), 5.

² (Mary Teresa Austin Carroll), *The Ursulines in Louisiana, 1727-1824* (New Orleans, 1886), 3.

³ Henry Renshaw, "The Louisiana Ursulines," *Louisiana Historical Society Publications*, II, part 4 (December, 1901), 25-26; Carroll, *The Ursulines in Louisiana*, 4-5; Roger Baudier, *The Catholic Church in Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1939), 103; See Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 225-226, for a description of New Orleans at the time in which Sister Marie Madeleine Hachard writes of a song that compares New Orleans to Paris.

of continuous educational service by dedicated Ursuline nuns in Louisiana. These first few nuns from France were the pioneers responsible for the founding of the Ursuline establishment in 1727.⁴

For Mother Superior Marie Tranchepain de St. Augustin, the leader of the pioneers, the successful establishment of the school in New Orleans was the fulfillment of a personal desire. Mother Tranchepain, a Protestant convert, had begun her novitiate in the Ursuline convent of Rouen in 1699, the very year in which colonists were first brought to Louisiana by Pierre le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville. Upon taking the religious habit, the future mother superior also took the name of Sister Marie de St. Augustin. For some time she had desired to devote her energies to missionary work but no opportunity arose until 1726.⁵

In that year, Father Nicolas Ignace de Beaubois, Superior of the Jesuits in New Orleans, wrote to Mother Tranchepain concerning the possibility of an Ursuline establishment in Louisiana. The Jesuit father was carrying out the request of Governor Bienville in seeking a religious order which would look after the military hospital and begin a girl's school in New Orleans.⁶ Mother Tranchepain as well as two other religious from the monastery at Rouen happily accepted the proposals of Reverend Beaubois; many sisters from other institutions also applied, and a total of twelve sisters were selected by the end of 1726.⁷

Since the colony of Louisiana was under the control of the Company of the Indies in 1726, Father Beaubois arranged

⁴ Tranchepain, *Relation du Voyage*, 5-7.

⁵ Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 6-10; Mary Austin Cauvin, "The French Ursulines in Colonial Louisiana, 1727-1824," (M.A. Thesis, Louisiana State University, 1939), 117; Tranchepain, *Relation du Voyage*, 55-56; Baudier, *The Catholic Church in Louisiana*, 103.

⁶ Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 3-4, 9; Cauvin, "The French Ursulines," 68-69.

⁷ Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 9-10; Cauvin, "The French Ursulines," 69. Different accounts vary as to the exact number of nuns who first came to Louisiana. See Tranchepain, *Relation du Voyage*, 6, for a list of 10 names not including that of Mother Tranchepain. See Heloise Hulse Cruzat, "The Ursulines of Louisiana," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, II (January, 1919), 8, fn. 3, for a list of 12 names.

for a "treaty" or contract to be drawn up between the nuns and the Company which stipulated that the Ursulines would take charge of the hospital and might begin a school in New Orleans. This "treaty" also made provision for their passage and the building of a monastery in Louisiana. It was duly signed September 13, 1726, in Paris and several days later the royal "Brevet" was issued giving the stamp of approval of King Louis XV to the proposed establishment.⁸

In January, 1727, at Hennebon, while waiting for passage, the nuns paid homage to Marie Tranchepain de St. Augustin whose appointment as their Mother Superior was confirmed by the Bishop of Quebec.⁹ Finally the day of embarkation arrived. Accompanied by the Jesuit Fathers René Tartarin and Etienne Doutreleau and Brother Philippe Crucy, the nuns boarded a ship called the *Gironde* on February 22, 1727. The next day the ship sailed from the port of L'Orient, taking five months to reach the mouth of the Mississippi River, July 23, 1727. By August 7th the small group of nuns had arrived in New Orleans.¹⁰

Soon the sisters began a free day school, the first of its kind in America, and a boarding school, held classes for Indian and Negro girls and women, and accepted a few orphans. The number of this latter group was greatly increased by the Fort Rosalie Massacre (1729) at Natchez. The Ursulines even took charge of the last group of girls sent to Louisiana in 1728 by the Company of the Indies to provide wives for young men, young girls called *filles à la cassette* because of the small trunk of wearing apparel provided by the com-

⁸ Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 10; Cauvin, "The French Ursulines," 69. For translations of treaty, application to king for approval of treaty, and royal brevet giving approval see Cruzat, "The Ursulines of Louisiana," 5-8, fn. 1, 2; Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 167-176. (Article XXIV of treaty in latter citation is incorrectly translated). For treaty in French see "Traité de la Compagnie des Indes avec les Ursulines," Louisiana Historical Society *Publications*, II, part 4 (December, 1901), 37-42. For royal brevet in French see Tranchepain, *Relation du Voyage*, 61-62. For photostatic copies of treaty, application to king for approval of treaty, and royal brevet see Cauvin, "The French Ursulines", appendix, 177 ff.

⁹ Tranchepain, *Relation du Voyage*, 5.

¹⁰ Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 10-12; Albert Hubert Biever, *The Jesuits in New Orleans and the Mississippi Valley* (New Orleans, 1924), 29, 34.

pany for each one. The nuns looked after these daughters of France until they voluntarily chose husbands.¹¹

Under the contract with the Company of the Indies, the nuns were obligated to take over the Royal Hospital, a duty which could not be carried out at first because the hospital was located at one end of the city and the provisional home of the Ursulines at the other.¹² Only when the sisters moved into their monastery on July 17, 1734,¹³ was it possible for them to supervise the hospital. This task was performed by them until 1770 when their small number caused them to relinquish it.¹⁴

Since those early colonial days the Ursulines have been associated with many highlights in the colorful history of Louisiana as province, territory, and state. It takes but little imagination to visualize the charitable act of the sisters in accepting the children orphaned by the Indian massacre at Fort Rosalie in 1729;¹⁵ one can hear the blasts of the guns fired under Don Alejandro O'Reilly's orders in 1769 taking the lives of those condemned for rebellion after Louisiana's transfer to Spain while nearby inside the Ursuline chapel the relatives of the doomed prayed;¹⁶ and one can picture Andrew

¹¹ Cauvin, "The French Ursulines," 85-91. For early educational work of the Ursulines in Louisiana see also Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 198-200; Baudier, *The Catholic Church in Louisiana*, 104-105; Biever, *The Jesuits in New Orleans and the Mississippi Valley*, 34-35; Martin Luther Riley, "The Development of Education in Louisiana," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XIX (July, 1936), 601-607, 617-618, 621-622.

¹² Renshaw, "The Louisiana Ursulines," 29; Tranchepain, *Relation du Voyage*, 34; Cauvin, *The French Ursulines*, 88. For detailed descriptions of provisional and all subsequent homes of the nuns up to the 1912 move to their present location on State Street, see Samuel Wilson, Jr., "An Architectural History of the Royal Hospital and the Ursuline Convent of New Orleans," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXIX (July, 1946), 559-659 *passim*.

¹³ Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 22; Wilson, "An Architectural History," 590.

¹⁴ Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 24-27, 84. Semple suggests that the main factor causing the nuns to give up the hospital was not numbers but the aim of complying with more rigid Spanish customs in regard to cloister rules. For additional references concerning the nuns and the Royal Hospital see John Duffy (ed.), *The Rudolph Matas History of Medicine in Louisiana* (Baton Rouge, 1958), I, 89-103; Wilson, "An Architectural History," 621.

¹⁵ Cauvin, "The French Ursulines," 93-94; Renshaw, "The Louisiana Ursulines," 29.

¹⁶ Renshaw, "The Louisiana Ursulines," 34; Cruzat, "The Ursulines of Louisiana," 14.

Jackson, triumphant in victory after the Battle of New Orleans in 1815, visiting the convent to thank the nuns for their prayers for divine aid to his soldiers.¹⁷

Reference to such events gives an inkling of how closely interwoven are the activities of the Ursulines with early Louisiana history. Although playing an important role upon special occasions, the greatest influence of the sisters has been felt in the continual fulfillment of their original aim in the teaching of young girls since colonial times.

While something of the zeal and courage which have always characterized the Ursulines in New Orleans is captured in the first mother superior's comparatively brief description of the voyage of the pioneer nuns of 1727,¹⁸ the long and dangerous journey to Louisiana is the subject of another entertaining, well written, and more detailed account by Sister Marie Madeleine Hachard de St. Stanislaus.¹⁹ Written in vivid language, Mother Tranchepain's account provides a concise and charming story of the voyage which turned out to be a real adventure involving pirates as well as other perils. The narrative ends with the Ursuline nuns settled in a temporary home in New Orleans while a permanent establish-

¹⁷ Cauvin, "The French Ursulines," 149-152; Carroll, *The Ursulines in Louisiana*, 35-37; Renshaw, "The Louisiana Ursulines," 35-36.

¹⁸ Mother Tranchepain's account in French may be found in Tranchepain, *Relation du Voyage*, 13-36. As far as can be determined, no complete English translation of this account has ever been published. An unpublished English translation, Marie Tranchepain de Saint Augustin, *Journal of the Voyage of the First Ursulines to New Orleans, 1727*, translated by Olivia Blanchard (New Orleans, 1940) was made for the survey of Federal Archives in Louisiana under the auspices of the Works Projects Administration.

¹⁹ Marie Madeleine Hachard de St. Stanislaus, *Relation du Voyage des Ursulines de Rouen à la Nouvelle Orleans avec une introduction et des notes par Gabriel Gravier* (Paris, 1872), LVI-LVII. In the introduction, Gravier contends that the Tranchepain account, save for some small additions by Mother Tranchepain, was written by Sister Hachard, most likely under her mother superior's directions. Many identical phrases and others differing only in arrangement of words and verb tenses lend credence to this claim. Only minor differences of fact exist between the two narratives. The most outstanding difference is in length; the Tranchepain relation leaves out numerous details incorporated in the Hachard relation. The shorter relation may be described as a summary of the other. Certainly, the author of whichever account was written last, must have been familiar with the one written first. For an English translation of the Hachard narrative see Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 201-224.

ment was under construction. Thus began the long history of the Ursulines in Louisiana.

RELATION²⁰

Of the Founders of the New Orleans [Ursuline Establishment], written to the Ursulines of France, by the first Superior, the Mother St. Augustin.

After having spent some time at the house of the good Ursulines of [Hennebon],²¹ we embarked²² the 22nd of February 1727; but as the wind changed it was resolved that we would not set sail until the next day, which gave us time to settle ourselves in our little room. [This latter] was a compartment which had been made for us between decks. We found ourselves a little crowded there, but we were alone which gave us a great deal of pleasure.

[The ship] set sail the 23rd of February at two in the afternoon. The weather was good and we went up on deck to take some air, but at half a league from L'Orient they encountered a rock. The shock was rude and the alarm general. [The crew] raised the sails at the same time, which was noticed from the port of L'Orient. They came to our aid and worked with so much vigor that we found ourselves delivered from this first fright and in a proper condition to continue our route. It was then that each one began to pay tribute to the sea. No one of us escaped and the least sick were the sisters [Marianne] Boulanger [de St. Angelique] and [Marie Madeleine] Hachard [de St. Stanislaus], who got off with slight sick feelings.

Meanwhile the winds changed and became quite the contrary. The ship was in a continual agitation and made some

²⁰ Translated from a French publication Marie Tranchepain de St. Augustin, *Relation du Voyage*, 13-36. In translating the text, capitalization and punctuation have been made to conform to modern English usage.

²¹ Tranchepain, *Relation du Voyage*, 5.

²² The nuns went the short distance from Hennebon on a ferry to L'Orient, in Brittany, where they embarked on a ship named the *Gironde*. See Hachard's description of the voyage in Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 186-187, 190, 192, 201.

bounds which overturned us one on top of the other. Scarcely was the soup on the table when a jolt of the vessel overturned it. These little accidents and others made us laugh in spite of the sea-sickness which is a violent malady and which reduces to the extremity. But when one experiences it, one is scarcely disturbed because one does not die from it. I was the one who suffered the most from it, but that did not disturb my vocation. Our Lord mixes a certain I do not know what to that which one does for him so that even pain becomes mild, and it is that which my Sisters have proved better than I because they have merited it more. Moreover, great was my consolation to see that in spite of troubles, sicknesses, caused by the length of the voyage, in spite of meeting pirates, no one regretted the sacrifice which she had made to God of all her person, and the risks which we ran did not disturb them. It was upon one of these dangerous occasions that we made a vow to the Holy Virgin and to St. Francis Xavier in order to merit their protection.

Meanwhile our vessel scarcely advanced, and in fifteen days we did not make more distance than we ought to have made in three. Our provisions diminished, especially the water; and we were reduced, as well as the crew, to one pint per day—even it was very bad. Our captain was obliged to put into port at the island of Madiera 300 leagues from L'Orient.²³ As soon as the principal village of this island had caught sight of us, they came to meet us in order to know what we wanted. They were satisfied and returned. The captain then had seven cannon-shots fired to salute the town, which replied to us of the same. Those who had come to see us having said that there were on shore a religious community and some Jesuit missionaries, who have a famous college in this town, they delayed not in paying us a visit before our Reverend Fathers had had the time to anticipate them. One cannot be more gracious than are these fathers. Only one among them could speak French, but he said a thousand obliging things in the name of all. They beg-

²³ The ship put into port at the island of Madeira on March 12, 1727. See Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 204.



Fig. 22—Landing of the Ursulines, Aug. 7, 1727 (courtesy of Ursuline Academy)

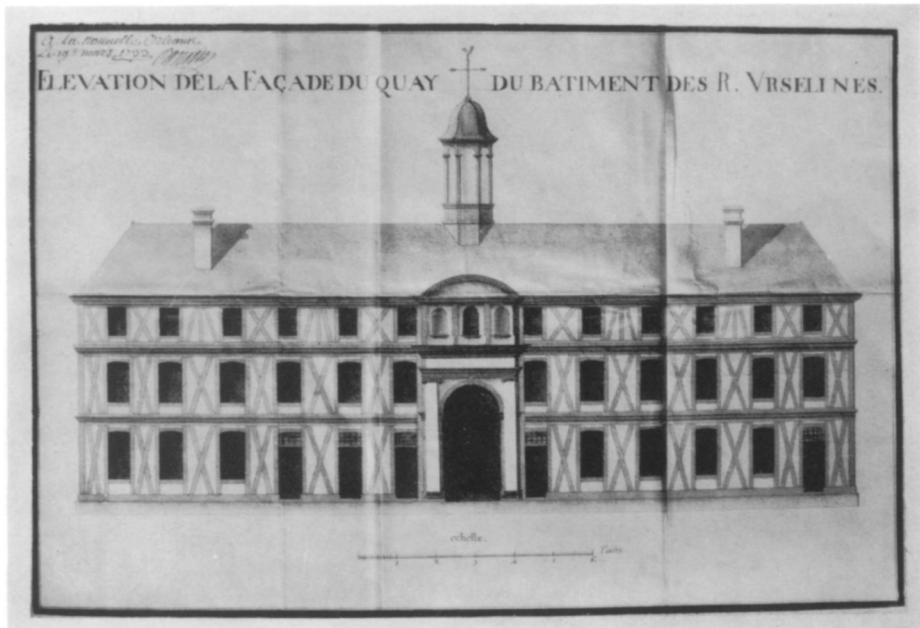


Fig. 23—Ursuline convent, front elevation of first building, 1733 (courtesy of Samuel Wilson, Jr.)

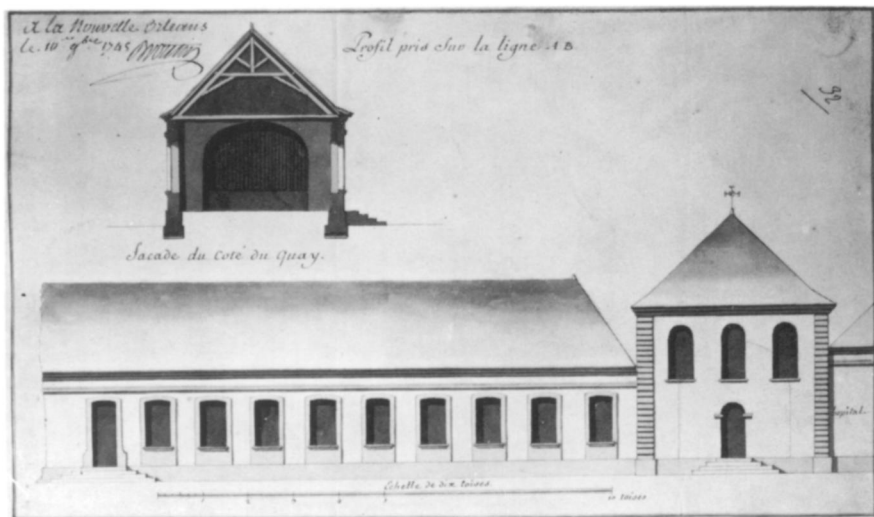


Fig. 24—Ursuline Chapel, elevation, 1745 (courtesy of Samuel Wilson, Jr.)



Fig. 25—Ursuline Academy, Chartres Street, built in 1745 (courtesy of Ursuline Academy)

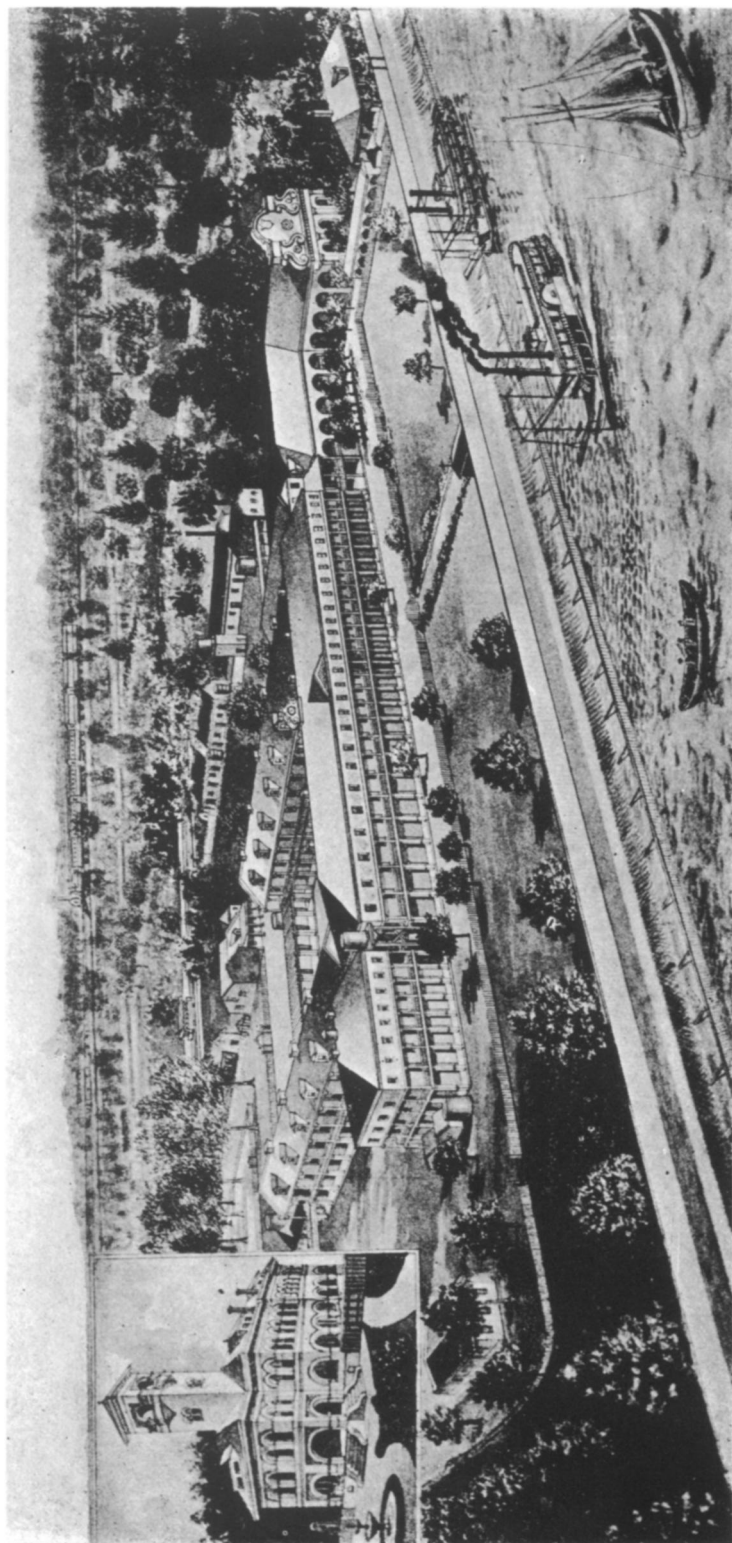


Figure 26—Bird's eye view of Ursuline Academy, 1824-1912, Dauphine Street (courtesy of Ursuline Academy)

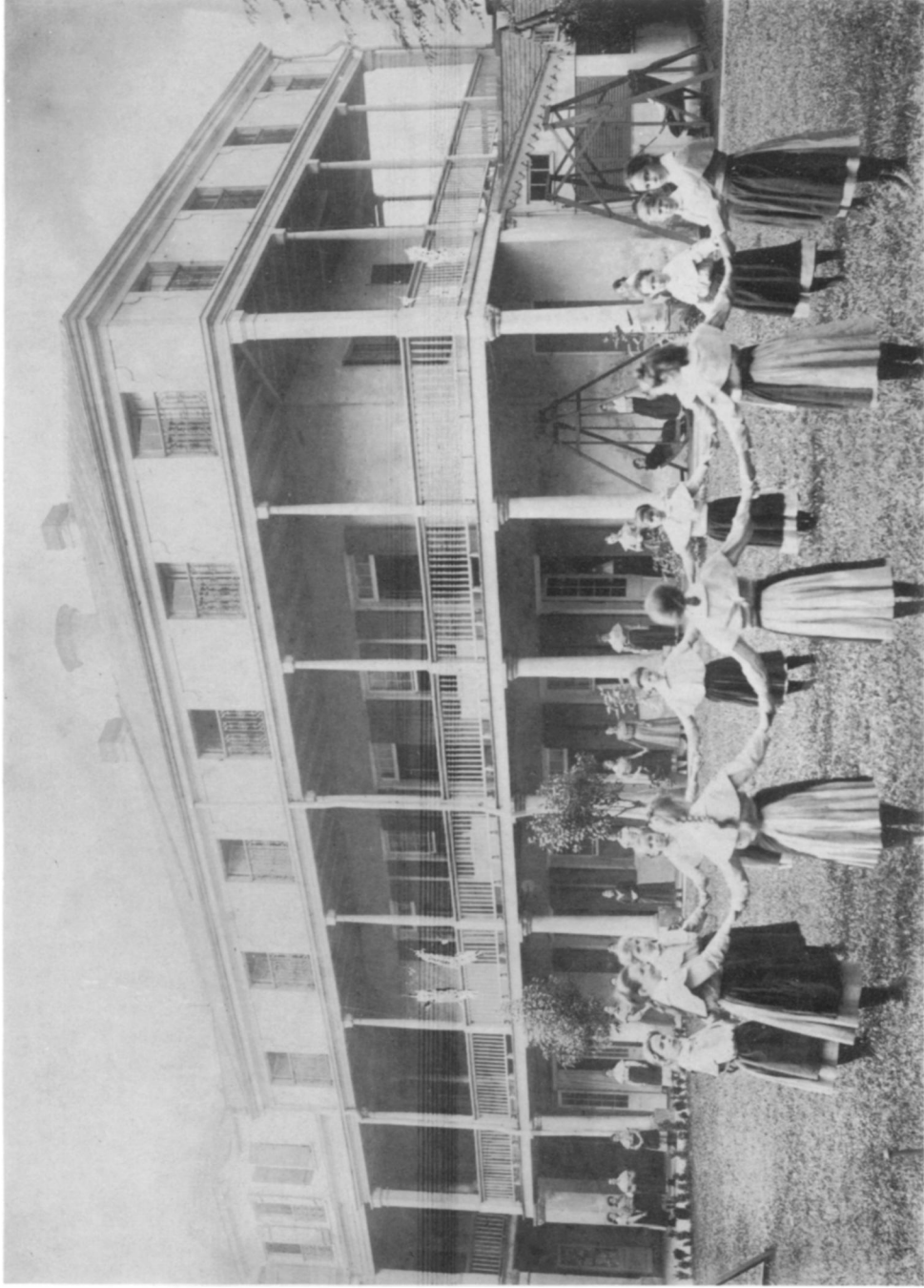


Fig. 27—Orphanage, Ursuline Academy, Dauphine Street (courtesy of Ursuline Academy)

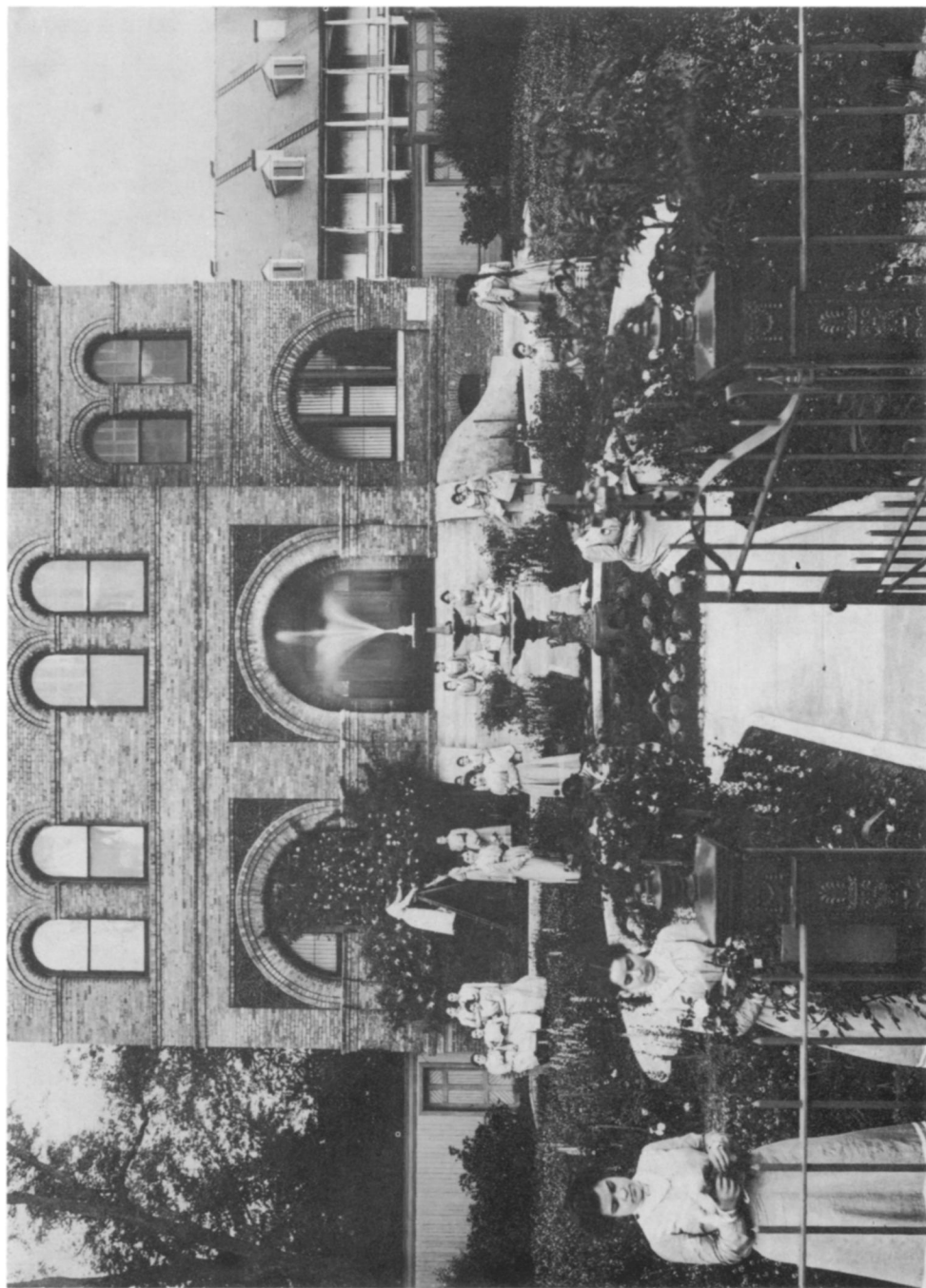


Fig. 28—St. Ursula's Hall, front view, Dauphine Street (courtesy of Ursuline Academy)



Fig. 29—St. Ursula's Hall, side view, Dauphine Street (courtesy of Ursuline Academy)

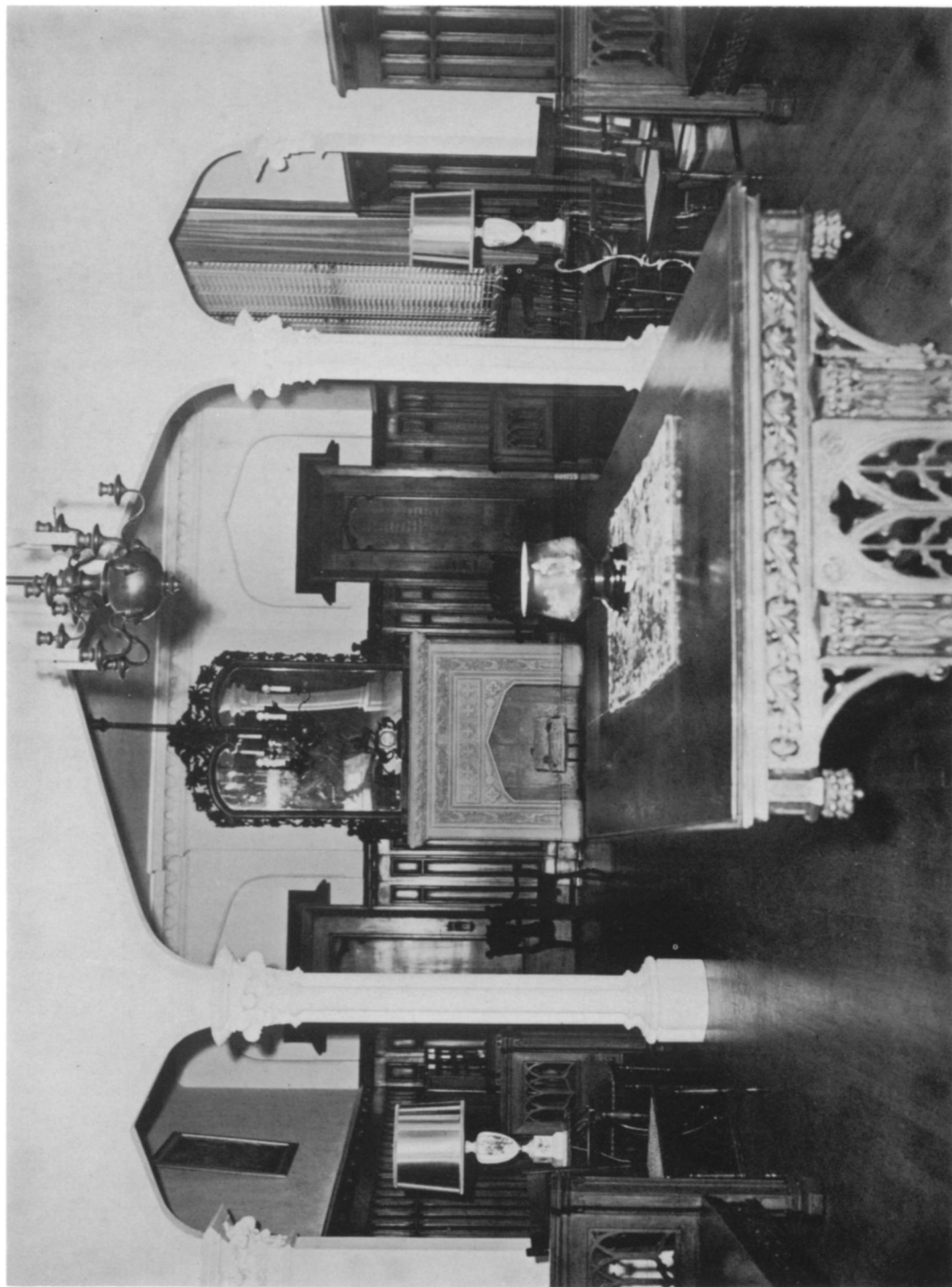


Fig. 30—Present day Reception Room, Ursuline Academy, State Street (courtesy of Ursuline Academy)

ged us to come to land and to take our lodgings at their house, but we declined politely. Our two Fathers went there to dine the next day and they were received with all the agreeableness and all the magnificence possible.

We also had part in their generosity, because they themselves brought to us great baskets filled with all sorts of refreshments. And during the three days that we remained anchored, these generous Fathers paid us several visits and each day they seemed to take a new pleasure in praising the zeal which had made us undertake such a long voyage. The greatest pain which they said they had was of not being able to do us more good, esteeming what they did as nothing in comparison to their good will. These Fathers wore large spectacles on the nose, in the fashion of Portugal, and I noticed one who took them off in order to read something, which made us laugh. Moreover, their manners are about the same as those of our French Fathers, except that they wear their hair short.

We also received the visit of all the pupils of the Jesuits. They carried a rosary in their hands which keeps them in continence, but it is said that they are not more devout because of it. The most important gentlemen of the island paid us a visit, but we did not see any women. In this country they are not visible and are not seen but through gratings. They do not come out but to go to Mass, and all together, so that they form a kind of procession. They walk covered with large veils, in silence or saying their rosary.

There are two communities on this island. The principal one is the order of St. Claire, and the abbess is a Portuguese princess. As they are more free than the secular women, their manners are also more easy. They had soon learned the news of our arrival because the abbess wrote me in a very obliging and very flattering manner to invite me to go to their house with all my Religious. Her style is very friendly and she gave us great praises. I replied to her the best that I could, and she received my letter with all the marks of esteem and friendship that I would have been able to wish from an equal.

The next day a young woman from the ship having paid her a visit on my part, was overwhelmed with courtesies and gifts. They reiterated to her their entreaties to persuade us to go to their house; but not considering it proper to do so,²⁴ and the crew having secured the necessary provisions, we thanked the town by a cannon-shot, and we stood out to sea to continue our route.

The wind was favorable only during two days. Suddenly it changed and we took a long while to make 200 leagues, at the end of which they discovered a pirate. Immediately the ordinary preparations for defense were made; each one armed himself and all the cannons were loaded. It was decided that during the combat we would be closed in the safest place between decks. The women said goodbye to their husbands. Mademoiselle La Chaise, who had wished to be with us, wept bitterly for fear of losing her brother, who is one of the officers of our ship. As for us, thanks to Our Lord, no one showed any weakness. After all, the pirate, seeing himself too weak, withdrew, and left us in liberty: sad liberty for some Religious to be on a vessel where it is impossible to have a moment to oneself. However, we carried on our spiritual exercises, but in the milieu of the dissipation which is found among people who think of nothing but amusing themselves in order to pass the time, and that is what has pained us the most.

We finally arrived on the Tropic [of Cancer]. It was Good Friday, and the holiness of the day having prevented the ceremony of baptism of which you have no doubt heard spoken, it was postponed to Holy Saturday during the afternoon. I will not give you the details of this ceremony which is but an amusement for the sailors. Moreover, one is able to exempt oneself from it only with money, and as we are more than twenty, including the servants of the fathers as well as ours, they had of our part a good little sum. Those who did not wish to give anything received several buckets

²⁴ The nuns did not think it proper to appear in public in a place where secular women did not do so. See Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 206.

of water over the body, but the great heat was able to render this bath agreeable to them.

Some days afterwards we had a second alarm by the encounter of a vessel which followed us nearby. [Our ship] stood on the defensive and when we [the ships] were approaching one another, they closed us in the place which was assigned to us. They were on the point of firing above, but the enemy withdrew a little ways, which gave us time to have supper. As it was noted that the enemy approached from time to time, they kept good guard all night. We went to bed expecting always that they would come to get us up. The enemy withdrew the next day. The sea continued to give fright and it was sometimes so furious that we believed we would be engulfed by it. But we suffered more from the length of the voyage, longing more and more for this land so long and so ardently desired, which made us redouble our prayers in order to obtain a more favorable weather.

Our Lord accorded us sometimes several hours of good wind and with the aid of this succor we arrived at Bay St. Louis,²⁵ where we had to cast anchor. As there was no religious house nor person of our acquaintance in this place, we did not count on descending but to go for a walk and have a care to our linen which we needed to bleach. But the first evening that we had dropped anchor, the Directors of the Company desired to pay us a visit and declared that they wished that we would stay at their house all the time the vessel was anchored. We could not resist such pressing offers and we promised to go there the next day. These two gentlemen²⁶ proved to be of good breeding and of perfect merit. They entertained us once magnificently and during the fifteen days which we spent at their house, we took our meals privately, that is to say with our Reverend Fathers only, and we were treated with abundance.

²⁵ The Hachard account gives this place as the Quay St. Louis, a port in Santo Domingo or Haiti. See Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 209.

²⁶ The gentlemen were named Cirou [possibly Ciron] and Girard. See Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 209-210; Dunbar Rowland and Albert Sanders (eds. and trans.), *Mississippi Provincial Archives, 1701-1729. French Dominion* (2 vols., Jackson, 1929), II, 546.

Two days after our arrival Monsieur the Governor²⁷ came to pay us a visit. He is a gentleman from Paris, a little aged, but enjoying health and a very gracious manner of receiving. He had us twice to dine with a French magnificence, and we had complete liberty to devote ourselves to our spiritual exercises. This gentleman evinced to me a great desire to have an establishment of Ursulines in that country. The Directors of the Company have the same desire for the education of the young Creoles, who have many dispositions. It is necessary to hope that we shall have a house of our order in that country. I say this in passing in order to inflame anyone with zeal for the salvation of souls. What good fortune to be consumed by such a glorious fire! What ought to excite the zeal, is the little of religion which is there; the most devout are those who do not lead a scandalous life. The day that we dined at the house of Monsieur the Governor, he wished for us to visit the fort, situated on the sea, and which, according to the connoisseurs, is a rare thing in its style. We found there two or three garrisons drawn up in order under arms to receive us at the sound of drums in order to do us more honor. They served us some refreshments.

Finally we embarked the 19th, overwhelmed with courtesies and gifts. Moreover, they offered us various refreshments to soften the rest of our voyage which was still 500 leagues.

The wind at first favorable, reversed, and the calms delayed our course considerably. We met two enemy vessels, but we got rid of them by putting ourselves in a state of defense. We hope in spite of this mishap to arrive for the feast of the Blessed Sacrement, but Our Lord reserved for us a greater trial for the end, for the contrary winds conjointly with the currents pushed us in spite of ourselves toward the Ile Blanche at the moment when we awaited with impatience the pleasure of seeing the first lands of the Mississippi. We felt a great deal of joy at the approach of this land, but good God! but this joy was short! and but it was dearly bought. At the moment when we thought the least of it,

²⁷ The governor was a Mr. Brache. See Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 210.

occupied with amusing ourselves on deck, suddenly the vessel ran aground so rudely and with so many shocks that we believed ourselves lost without resource.

The captain and the crew lowered the sails and made diverse manoeuvres in order to draw us from the danger, but all was useless, and by means of the sounding-line they discovered that the vessel was sunk five feet in the sand. The captain decided to lighten it. They began with the cannons which they arranged on two pieces of wood so that they could not sink to the bottom, and they abandoned them to the sea. Then they removed the ballast composed of pebbles, lead and scrap-iron. All that not sufficing to lighten the vessel, they decided to throw out the trunks which were in great number. Ours were the first; also it was for us to make the first sacrifice. We were not long in reasoning with ourselves and we consented with good heart to see ourselves stripped of all in order to practice a great poverty. They had assured us that there was nothing to fear for our lives, being so near land, but that we ought not to descend but at the last extremity since that island was populated only by some very cruel savages. Finally at the moment when we thought to see our trunks thrown out, the captain changed his mind and had the sugar thrown out, which was in great quantity. Our Reverend Fathers and we lost a barrel²⁸ of 300 pounds that the Directors of the Company had given us.

Nevertheless, the ship was too heavy and they still wished to return to our trunks, but by the permission of God and the protection of the Blessed Virgin, which we were beseeching during all that time, every time that they were going to take our trunks the captain changed his mind and had another thing taken. They threw out then 60 barrels²⁹ of brandy and a large quantity of salmon, after which they made further efforts to draw out the vessel. Finally they succeeded, which

²⁸ The Hachard account says that two barrels were lost by the nuns and the fathers. See Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 213.

²⁹ The Hachard account says that 61 barrels of brandy were thrown out. See Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 214.

filled us with a great joy. That peril lasted twenty-four hours, and very few persons went to bed that night.

A few hours afterwards they resumed the journey, but scarcely had we made a quarter of a league, when the vessel grounded a second time with so much violence and so frequent shocks that no more hope remained to us than in the omnipotence of God. The captain even was quite surprised that the vessel could resist such a long time and he asserted that out of ten, nine would have been broken. All the crew was struck with consternation. As for me, I avow that I have never seen death so near and although I always trusted in the aid of the Blessed Virgin, the fear painted on all the faces, led me to believe that our last hour had arrived. What consoled me assuredly, was the nobility of my sisters who sustained themselves always in a spirit of sacrifice, with a calm [composure] and a surprising peace. But the Lord was contented at the time with our good will, and give His blessing to the proceedings of the captain and to the labor of the sailors and passengers who did not spare themselves in these encounters. The Reverend Father René Tartarin directed them. We were again that time drawn from danger and the captain had the *Te Deum* sung in expression of gratitude.

After that last danger the ship's boat went always in advance and an officer had the sounding-line in his hand until we stood out to sea. Then we lacked water. The heat was excessive. We suffered a great deal from thirst which made us exchange our wine for water, an exchange which was made, however, only bottle for bottle; yet we were happy to have it at that price. This lasted almost fifteen days. Because the winds and the currents were almost always contrary to us, it was necessary to drop anchor several times a day. Finally we arrived in sight of a land that was unknown to us and that we believed inhabited by savages on account of the large fires which were lighted there. Nevertheless, they sent a boat to search for some water there. A few hours after the departure of the boat, the wind became favorable and the captain, not wishing to lose the opportunity to advance, fired a cannon-shot in order to signal the officer to return, and at the

same time he raised the anchor. But the officer having taken the noise of the cannon for thunder, continued to advance toward the land, which left us in a great anxiety because the sea was furious. He returned, however, the next day. That island is called St. Rose [modern Santa Rosa]. We remained there three or four days waiting for a favorable wind.

Having set sail we continued our route and a few days from there we discovered the island Dauphine and at the same time a brigantine which came towards me. This sight caused us a great deal of joy, hoping to learn some news of our New Orleans. Our hope was not in vain, and we had the pleasure of seeing approach this brigantine whose captain was one of ours. He asked to greet us and it was from him that we learned for the first time news of the Reverend Father [Nicolas Ignace] Beaubois, who was waiting for us with impatience, that our lodging was all prepared to receive us and that they were beginning to build our monastery. I avow that it was the first exterior joy that I had tasted since our departure from France, and it was so heartfelt that it made me, as well as our sisters, forget all our troubles and past fatigues. We continued in company of the brigantine towards the island Dauphine, where we landed in order to obtain water in the fear of the calms which are frequent in these parts.

Scarcely had we landed when the wind became favorable. We resumed our journey toward the Balize, where we arrived finally the 23rd of July 1727, five months day for day since our departure. Balize is a seaport at the entrance of the Mississippi. Monsieur Duverger,³⁰ who commanded it for the Company, came soon to see us and offered us his house, while waiting until we could procure some carriages to take us to New Orleans. We accepted that offer made with such good grace. We went in a shallop with one part of our effects and accompanied by Monsieur Duverger. The weather was very bad, the shallop overloaded, the sailors drunk, and we found ourselves once more in an imminent peril from which

³⁰ Duverger is spelled Duvergé and de Verges in the Hachard account. See Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 217-218.

we would not have been able to extract ourselves if Monsieur Duverger had not put into port at the island of Cannes near Balize. We had a great deal of trouble in landing because of the contrary wind and we ran the risk of passing the night there among some men employed to build a fort under the direction of Monsieur Duverger. But this gentleman sent to look for some pirogues and we were obliged to separate into two bands. We arrived at his house, and he treated us the best way that it was possible for him. Monsieur Duverger is very generous, and although he is young and unmarried, he leads a very regulated and very solitary life, being applied without respite to the affairs which are entrusted to him. We remained at his house until the 29th.

The Father Tartarin had preceded us several days to go to announce our arrival to the Reverend Father Beaubois, whom he agreeably surprised, for our long navigation had alarmed the whole country and they believed us lost. The Reverend Father Beaubois delayed not in sending to look for us. Not being able to come himself on account of sickness, he charged Monsieur Massy, brother of our postulant [Claude Massy] with this commission. This gentleman brought me two letters: one from Monsieur Perrier,³¹ commandant of Louisiana and knight of St. Louis, and the other from Monsieur [Jacques de] la Chaise, director general [of the Company]. They both evinced a great impatience to see us, and as the shallop was too small to hold all our company, it was necessary to separate us. I went in the pirogue with five of the youngest of our sisters, accompanied by the Reverend Father D'Outreleau, by the Brother Crucy and by a gentleman. Our other sisters went in the shallop with Monsieur Massy, our two maids and two servants of our Reverend Fathers.

That little voyage which was only thirty leagues has been accompanied by incredible hardships. The shallop going too slowly, we took the lead. We left the day of St. Ignace, but it was necessary to stop every night, and one hour before

³¹ Usually spelled Perier. Étienne Boucher de la Perier de Salvart had become governor of Louisiana in 1726.

sun set, in order to have the time to arrange our mosquito-nets, because one is assailed by insects whose sting causes pains almost insupportable. We went to bed twice in the middle of mud and waters which penetrated us, and our mattresses almost swam in the water. All this is harrassing at the time but one is compensated afterwards by the pleasure which is felt by each one in relating his little adventures, and then one is quite surprised by the strength and by the courage which the good God gives in these encounters, which proves well that He never abandons us, and does not permit that we be tried beyond our endurances giving always graces proportioned to the trials which He sends us.

The ardent desire which we had of arriving at the end made us endure all the troubles with a great joy. When we were at eight or ten leagues from New Orleans, we began to encounter some plantations. They who stopped us vied with each other to make us enter their homes, and everywhere we were received with a joy beyond all expression. From all sides they promised us boarding students and some wished already to give them to us. We remained thus several days on various plantations. Finally the Reverend Father René Tartarin, who had gone ahead of us, came back to inform us that the Reverend Father Beaubois awaited us. We left then at three o'clock in the morning and we arrived at five o'clock, the 6th of August. Our Sisters did not arrive until the next day.

It would be too long and even useless, to attempt to express to you the diverse sentiments of my heart at the sight of a land after which I longed for so many years. You have too much zeal, My Reverend Mother, to doubt the excess of my consolation in landing. We found few persons on account of the hour, and we made our way towards the house of the Reverend Father Beaubois, where we soon met him, coming to us leaning on a cane because of his great weakness. He appeared pale and drawn but soon his face became animated by the joy which he felt upon seeing us. He made us rest a little and served us an excellent breakfast which was often interrupted by a great number of his friends who came to greet us.

Towards ten or eleven o'clock the Reverend Father conducted us to our house. It is a house that the Company rents while waiting for the monastery to be built. It is directly at one end of the city, and the hospital at the other. Thus we cannot take charge of it until our monastery be finished.

The inhabitants of New Orleans take care that we lack nothing: it is a question who will send us the most. This generosity puts us under obligation towards almost everybody. Among our friends the most devoted are Monsieur the Commandant [Perier] and his Dame [Catherine le Chibelier], who are persons full of merit and of very pleasant society. This gentleman has won for himself the esteem of all the country, which he has travelled for some months, and he has succeeded in calming the troubles which reign in the town. We receive also a great deal of politeness and of kind attentions on the part of Monsieur la Chaise, director general of the Company; he has not yet refused us anything which we have asked of him.

Finally, all makes us hope that our establishment will turn to the greatest glory of God, and that with time it will produce great good for the salvation of souls, which is our principal end. For that we have need of prayers; I ask you for them My Reverend Mother, and hope that your zeal will get us some from all the communities of the order with which you are in correspondence.

I wish that the reading of this relation could embrace the hearts with the love of Our Lord and dispose the subjects which He and His Blessed Mother prepared to come to us in aid. Let the length of the voyage and the hardships that we have endured rebuff no one. Oh! if one knew how God recompenses magnificently what is done for Him, one would not take into any consideration all the troubles by which it is necessary to pass! As far as possible we will take religious only from thirty to forty years of age.

The Reverend Father Beaubois says the Mass to us every day, but he does not permit the Blessed Sacrement.

Let God be ever praised and adored by all the earth.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Sr. Marie de St. Augustin,

Tranchepain.
Superior.

The Lafourche District in 1862: Militia and Partisan Rangers

By BARNES F. LATHROP

who is a member of the History Department,
University of Texas.

The most important bayou region of lower Louisiana, after the Teche, is the Lafourche, a district bounded on the west by the Atchafalaya Basin, on the north and east by the parishes along the Mississippi River, and on the south by the Gulf of Mexico. It comprised in 1862, as it does today, the three parishes of Assumption, Lafourche, and Terrebonne. A bit over half the inhabitants consisted of slaves, mostly upon large sugar plantations. The whites were typically Creole farmers, laborers, mechanics, or tradespeople, but Anglo-Americans figured prominently in planting, the professions, and public affairs. The principal routes of travel were the bayous, especially Bayou Lafourche, and the New Orleans, Opelousas and Great Western Railroad, which began opposite New Orleans and ran west along the River and across the Lafourche district to the Atchafalaya.

In public affairs the disposition of the Lafourche district was decidedly conservative. Heavy majorities had supported the moderate tickets in the presidential election of 1860 and afterward opposed the secession of Louisiana by separate state action. Down to February, 1862, only three companies of Confederate troops had volunteered from a population that might have provided a dozen. Then the perilous military situa-

tion in the Mississippi Valley had rapidly brought out some eight companies. At the same time efforts had been made to strengthen the militia and to detail hundreds of militiamen for active duty within the state. In Assumption, and presumably in other parishes, the assignment of men to active duty—amounting to a draft—had failed because state militia headquarters decided, after the details were made, that the men could be used only if armed, which they were not. This fiasco had, according to the colonel of the Assumption regiment, greatly demoralized the militia.

With the abrupt fall of New Orleans to the enemy at the end of April, 1862, parties of Federal troops had immediately commenced coming into the Lafourche by railroad. They had met no obstacles except a small ambush in Terrebonne Parish that provoked punishment severe enough to confirm the people of the district in the belief that purely local attempts to organize resistance would be mercilessly crushed. After a few weeks, however, a company of Louisiana troops from the Teche had succeeded in closing the railroad west of Bayou Lafourche, and before the end of June the enemy had drawn back all the way to Des Allemands on the eastern edge of the Lafourche district. Evidently the Federals were not yet ready to undertake occupation of the Lafourche against even minor opposition.

Such, roughly, was the posture of affairs when Governor Thomas O. Moore at Opelousas, the temporary state capital, began in mid-June, 1862, to shower the parishes west of the Mississippi River, and especially those in the Lafourche district, with a series of directives intended to prevent trade with the enemy, to suppress disloyalty, and to make the militia an effective force. Assumption and Lafourche, together with four River parishes, comprised a militia brigade (the Fifth) under command of Brigadier-General R. C. Martin, proprietor of Albemarle Plantation in Assumption Parish. Martin received orders to put the militia of his brigade into active service and organize them, to destroy bridges and tear up rails on the Opelousas Railroad, to station forces at points of possible enemy ingress, to arrest disloyal persons, and to prohibit travel to

New Orleans.¹ A separate order instructed him to "prevent trafficking" between the parishes of his command and New Orleans.² These orders were amplified a few days later in an address by Moore "To the People of Louisiana." Citizens going to places in possession of the enemy "and returning with the enemy's usual passport" should be arrested. (The standard Federal pass bore on its face a statement that it was "given upon the Parole of Honor of the holder, that he will in no way give information, countenance, aid or support to the so-called Confederate Government or States.") Conscripts or militiamen holding such passports and pleading the parole clause therein as a bar to service should be "treated as public enemies." Spies and "salaried informers" must be ferreted out, "Tories" dealt with as traitors, Confederate notes "received and used as the currency of the country," and steamboats burned if necessary to prevent their capture.³ Militia commanders were ordered to enforce these rules.⁴

Coincident with the attempt to order out the militia, Lieutenant-Colonel V. A. Fournet's Tenth or Yellow-Jacket Battalion Louisiana Volunteers (five companies) was sent from the Teche into the Lafourche district. The main purpose of Fournet's mission, and its failure, were made plain by a letter to Brigadier-General Martin from William B. Ratliff, an Assumption planter reported to be trying to raise a regiment to

¹ Orders No. 663 (Moore by M. Grivot, Adjutant and Inspector General), Headquarters Louisiana Militia, Adjutant General's Office, Opelousas, Louisiana, June 14, 1862, in U. S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (70 vols. in 128, Washington, 1880-1901), ser. I, vol. XV, 755-756. (Hereinafter cited as *Official Records*); Special Orders No. 192 (Major-General John L. Lewis, commanding, Louisiana Militia, to Brig. Gen. R. C. Martin), Opelousas, Louisiana, June 14, 1862, R. C. Martin Papers (in private possession). No. 192 merely repeats 663.

² Orders No. 664 (Moore), June 14, 1862, Martin Papers.

³ "Rules That Will Not Be Relaxed," in "Address," June 18, 1862, *Official Records*, ser. I, vol. XV, 509, or as a broadsheet in Martin Papers.

⁴ Orders No. 682 (Moore), June 20, 1862, *Official Records*, ser. I, vol. XV, 759-760, or as a broadside directed to Martin in Martin Papers.

assist troops from the outside.⁵ Ratliff wrote from Napoleonville on June 26, 1862:

I went down to the Lafourche Crossing on yesterday and called on Col. Fournet commanding several companies of Confederate soldiers at that point to ascertain from him his object in coming into this country and to learn whether he intended to remain and hold his position. I was informed by him that he had accomplished what he came for [presumably the ending of Federal forays into the region] and intended to withdraw the whole of his force to Opelousas immediately. he [*sic*] stated that he was ordered to come here for five or six days and expected the Malitia [*sic*] to be drawn out of the parishes to keep this country free from the enemy. I stated to him that this country did not have provision to supply a force; that we drew supplies for the people of this count[r]y from the western parishes and texas [*sic*] and that we had no arms tents or anything and that it would be impossible to get out the Malitia [*sic*] here without a force. he [*sic*] said his orders were to withdraw his force several days ago and he had waited several days longer to enable the Malitia [*sic*] to form and that he intended to return with his force immediately to the Atakapas. [*sic*]

The obstacles in the way of execution of Moore's orders for calling out the militia were set forth feelingly and at length by J. K. Gaudet, colonel of the St. James regiment. St. James

⁵ Susan Virginia (Mrs. George W.) Pugh to husband, July 1, 1862, paraphrased in R. L. Pugh, In Camp [near Tupelo, Miss.], to wife, July 10, 1862, R. L. Pugh Papers (Department of Archives, Louisiana State University). As a captain in the Seventh Louisiana Infantry, Ratliff had taken a company of Irishmen to Virginia early in the war, then resigned on account of ill health; in 1864-1865 he would attract attention as commander of an outpost between the lines in the Grosse Tete country. Goodspeed Publishing Company, *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Louisiana* (2 vols., Chicago, 1892), II, 330-331; Andrew B. Booth (compiler), *Records of Louisiana Confederate Soldiers and Louisiana Confederate Commands* (3 vols. in 4, New Orleans, 1920), vol. III, bk. II, 252; Confederate States War Department, *Special Orders of the Adjutant and Inspector General's Office*, Confederate States, [March 7,] 1861-[April 1,] 1865 (5 vols., [Washington, 1885-1887]), [I] (1861), 109; index under Ratcliff, Ratliff, and William B. Ratliff in *Official Records*, ser. I, vol. XXVI, pt. I, vol. XXXIV, pts. I, III, vol. XLI, pts. I-III, vol. XLVIII, pts. I-II, ser. II, vol. VIII; U. S. Navy Department, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (30 vols. and index, Washington, 1894-1927), ser. I, vol. XXVII, 70-75, 192, 248. (Hereinafter cited as *Official Records*. . . *Navies*.)

lay on both banks of the Mississippi, which was controlled by Federal gunboats; its lower line was about forty-five miles above New Orleans. Gaudet wrote R. C. Martin, his brigade commander, June 28, 1862:

I have just received your communication and hasten to answer . . . It is in my opinion entirely impracticable to attempt any thing, and I agree with you that we are as completely under the control of the Federal forces as the City itself. Were we to try to execute the orders from Opelousas, the only result would be our speedy arrest and imprisonment The conversation I have just had with your messenger and your kind note convince me, to my great satisfaction, that you have taken the stand which was to be expected from a man of sense and experience, who has at heart the best interests of the Country.

We cannot do otherwise, my dear Sir, than wait with patience. It would be folly to bring upon us and our communities the vengeance of men that we have no means of resisting successfully. If those who are now out of harm's way wish to drive us to steps that can be attended with no other possible result than ruin and devastation, it is our bounden duty to take such course as is dictated by common sense and a proper regard for the safety of our families. If the authorities at Opelousas insist upon it, I shall crave of you leave to hand in my resignation, and I have no doubt all the officers of this Regiment will do likewise.

As you observe in your note, we have already been subjected to annoyance upon the unfounded reports of miserable scamps from our own community. We stand in daily dread of similar visitations, and most certainly the least move on our part would bring on us immediate arrest. We are prisoners in every sense of the term, and much worse off in that respect than you people on the Bayou, as we have gunboats continually passing up and down the River, and the proximity of the city renders expeditions from that place an easy matter. Were we to attempt exercising any military authority, we would be arrested and our families harassed. Where is our protection to come from? Where is the authority to support us when we are placed in peril? These are considerations which may not strike Gov. Moore or the other fugitives at Opelousas, but they come home to us with a terrible force.

It is not a difficult or unpleasant thing to be two hundred miles from the ennemy [*sic*] penning proclamations and orders, but when they involve such momentous consequences to a large community who are perfectly defenseless, a moment of sober thought should prevent their being promulgated without any possible benefit to any body.

I am thus, my dear Sir, decidedly of opinion that the orders transmitted to us cannot be executed in our part of the Country. We can make light of our own personal dangers, but we cannot disregard the safety of our people. If you think that under the circumstances we are placed in the alternative of obeying or of throwing up our commissions, I for one am prepared to resign and will do so very willingly, upon the slightest intimation from you.

The Bayou parishes were, as Gaudet said, in less peril than the River parishes, but even on the Bayou circumstances did not favor calling out the militia. The colonel of the Assumption regiment, William W. Pugh of Woodlawn Plantation, explained why this was so.

My command is situated on both sides of the Lafourche (a stream navigable for steam boats during Nine months of the year) but principally on the Right [west] bank. The land falls as you recede from the stream into deep cypress swamps at a distance varying from 60 to 80 arpents [i. e., two to three miles]. The larger portion of our [white] population is to be found on narrow ridges of land running back and parallel to the Lafourche for a distance of fifteen miles, these ridges are found mostly on the right bank & during the recent crevasses on the Mississippi were generally submerged greatly to the distress and loss of the small planters who cultivate the soil. From this cause I may venture the assertion that the families of $\frac{3}{5}$ ths of the militia of this parish are now in a destitute condition, and dependent entirely for their supplies of bread for the coming year on the corn which is yet to be planted on a soil not yet free from water.

Under these circumstances I deem that it would be inexpedient and unwise to remove them from the fields of their labor to attempt any military measure which might be postponed to a later period—

Situated as we are on the banks of a navigable stream we

are as much under the control of the enemy's guns as if we resided on the banks of the Mississippi, and admitting that the Lafourche were closed to the entrance of steamboats it is doubtful if we could repel an attack made in force by land.

We have no arms to defend ourselves with, save the shot guns which were not transferred to the agents of the Confederate government, and neither powder nor ball in sufficient quantities to protect ourselves in the event of a servile insurrection, much less against an enemy armed with cannon and all the improved implements of modern warfare.

Under the circumstances it occurs to me that it would be unwise to invite by a vain display of our meager resources, the attack of a ruthless enemy who would not hesitate to spread desolation over our land and deprive our women and children of shelters which a more prudent course would save from destruction—

If our militia is to be called into active service, there should be a supporting force of sufficient magnitude to give it at least, the semblance of a successful resistance to those whose attack can be made at any time, and with every prospect of success whenever they deem it expedient.

In addition . . . I must also state (this with much regret) that the public mind is much demoralized and there is a serious doubt, whether the militia as a body can be brought into active service without the aid of a sustaining force from some other quarter⁶

The failure of the militia to rally promptly upon the appearance of Fournet drew a fresh batch of directives from Opelousas. The Terrebonne militia (not in Martin's command) had already, like Martin's Brigade, been ordered to go into active service; the order was now repeated with an injunction upon the lieutenant-colonel to carry it out should the colonel not do so.⁷ Martin was to put the militia of Lafourche Parish

⁶ Colonel W. W. Pugh, Headquarters, Assumption Regiment, to Brig. Gen. R. C. Martin, July 8, 1862, Martin Papers; endorsed "Relative to G[enera]l Orders 663." In a concluding paragraph Pugh attributed part of the demoralization of the militia to the abortive state draft of March, 1862. See above p. 231 and Barnes F. Lathrop, "The Lafourche District in 1861-1862: A Problem in Local Defense," *Louisiana History*, I (Spring, 1960), 113.

⁷ Nos. 665 (Moore), 694 (Moore), June 14, 27, 1862, *Official Records*, ser. I, vol. XV, 756, 769.

into active service under their colonel or lieutenant-colonel "with positive instructions" to prevent enemy incursions and to aid Fournet in any expedition he might undertake.⁸ Probably before receipt of this order, Martin appointed T. E. Vick, a physician, sugar planter, and comparatively seasoned soldier, to be colonel of the Lafourche regiment.⁹

Early in July the mistress of Leighton Plantation (Bishop Leonidas Polk's old place above Thibodaux) sketched for her daughter the appearance of affairs in Lafourche Parish.

I suppose our fate will soon be decided—the Militia has been called out and many of the Creole's [*sic*] have taken to the swamp and say they will not go— . . . Mr. Williams [overseer on R. L. Pugh's] Dixie [Plantation] says he thinks old *More* & the state is turned wrong side up—and has no head nor no tail. . . . Dr. Vick . . . is Col of the Militia & is very active; if any body can get them out he will, but I fear it will be a failure and the Yankees may come on us any day—for our force is small if others do not come from St. Mary's—and as Old Gov More is there I fear we will not get much help—¹⁰

The state authorities at Opelousas were ready enough in issuing orders, but very slow to answer letters concerning their execution. Brigadier-General Martin wrote the commander of the militia, Major-General John L. Lewis, on June 25 and 27, 1862; the letters were, as Lewis afterward explained, laid before Governor Moore, but no replies were made. Martin waited two weeks and then dispatched to Opelousas a pair of Assumption planters, quartermasters of his brigade, with a letter to Lewis, dated July 9, 1862, reporting on the condition of the Assumption militia and asking information and

⁸ Special Orders No. 196 (Lewis), June 25, 1862, Martin Papers. No. 196 embodies Orders No. 690 (Moore), June 25, 1862, printed in part in *Official Records*, ser. I, vol. XV, 767.

⁹ General Orders No. 723 [?] (Moore), June 30, 1862, and Grivot, Headquarters Louisiana State Militia, Adjutant General's Office, Opelousas, to Martin, June 30, 1862, Martin Papers. Vick had led the first volunteer company that left Lafourche Parish, became major of the Fourth Louisiana Infantry, then failed of reelection. Booth, *Louisiana Confederate Soldiers*, vol. III, bk. II, 297.

¹⁰ Louisa (Mrs. John) Williams, "Home," to Mary Williams (Mrs. R. L.) Pugh, [Canton, Miss.], July 3 (1862), R. L. Pugh Papers.

instructions on various points. The two quartermasters reached Opelousas July 14. The letter they bore was laid before Governor Moore. He pronounced it too long for him to read and answer, but did grant immediate conference in which Lewis was included. The proceedings of the conference—"a complete analysis of our business"—the quartermasters in due time reported to Martin:

To the question whether or not he could or would fill the requisition made by you for cannon (4 field pieces) with ammunition & equipments for same, horses, & equipments for men to man the same, & for powder, lead, equipments, percussion caps &c, for infantry, the Governor replied that he had nothing of the kind & could not therefore fill any portion of your requisitions. That General Van Dorn [commanding at Vicksburg] had taken from him everything of the kind, save what General [John G.] Pratt [commanding Ninth Brigade, Louisiana Militia] had possession of, of which Genl. P. could give us a portion or not as he chose. That he Gov. Moore was having some Cannon powder made into rifle powder & that he would send us some of this new rifle powder with some ball as soon as possible.¹¹

To the question as to whether the militia should or [should] not be drilled in your Brigade he said: in those places exposed to the enemy it was useless to attempt it, in all other places they might be drilled if you thought best.

With regard to the defense of your brigade the Governor did not deem that shot guns in the hands of militia would avail much & thought it could not be thus effectively defended.

As to the calling out the Militia of your command into active service, he only desired you to do so in the Parish of Lafourche— He thinks it best that the other Parishes [Ascension, Assumption, St. James, St. John the Baptist, St. Charles] should remain as they are with the Militia simply organized until the taking command of this department by the Confederate General which was daily expected—

With regard to Confederate money the Governor holds

¹¹ Colonel T. E. Vick (by his adjutant) wrote from Headquarters Lafourche Militia, Camp Martin, July 22, 1862 (in Martin Papers): "The only artillery [*sic*] which is in camp and can be spared is a 32 pounder unmounted—As regards ammunition there is not over 500 lbs in the parish."

that his proclamation [saying that "Confederate notes shall be received and used as the currency of the country"] does not apply to private transactions— It only applies he says to government purchases, when if the parties vendor refuse Confederate money the goods may be taken upon the delivery of a receipt for the same— With reference to parties trading with the enemy, this is the Governor's decision— They must be arrested & tried by a Court Martial taken from the Parish in which the party offending is caught— The punishment to be such as the Court may determine, together with a confiscation of the property intended to be conveyed to or already conveyed from the enemy. This property after confiscation to be sold by the Military authorities to the highest bidder—¹²

Moore apparently did not discuss with Martin's emissaries one very pertinent fact, namely, that he had dispatched troops to act under his direct orders within the limits of Martin's command. The troops were a company of mounted partisan rangers under Captain James A. McWaters of Rapides Parish, a Mexican War veteran and "fine looking, red faced old gentleman, kind and generous in conduct, but fierce as a tiger in battle."¹³ From Thibodaux McWaters was to send a messenger to Martin in Assumption Parish offering any aid that Martin might request. The first task Moore assigned the partisan rangers was the arrest of S. N. Burbank of St. John the Baptist and E. W. T. Burbank of Assumption; the Burbanks, sugar planters and natives of New York, stood accused of trade

¹² J. B. Whittington and F. W. Pike, Quartermasters, Fifth Brigade, Assumption, Louisiana, to Martin, July 24, 1862; also relevant is Lewis (by his adjutant), Headquarters Louisiana Troops, Major-General's Office, Opelousas, to Martin, August 3, 1862. Both letters are in Martin Papers. The three concluding paragraphs of the Whittington-Pike letter, one saying that Martin ranks Pratt, the other two purely formal, have been omitted.

¹³ George C. Harding, "Shifting Scenes from the Drama of the Late War," *Miscellaneous Writings* (Indianapolis, 1882), 321. Other bits of information about McWaters appear in Booth, *Louisiana Confederate Soldiers*, vol. III, bk. I, 1248; Louisiana Adjutant General, *Annual Report*, 1891 (New Orleans, 1892), 33, 36, 40; and G. P. Whittington, "Rapides Parish, Louisiana—A History," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XVII (October, 1934), 744-745. The first reasonably clear evidence of McWaters' arrival on Lafourche is an entry in W. F. Pugh's "Journal", W. W. Pugh Papers (Archives Collection, the Library of the University of Texas), p. 16, July 15, 1862: "cavalry comp[any] went by [Woodlawn] to camp at Napoleonville."

with and aid to the enemy and treason to the state of Louisiana and the Confederate States of America.¹⁴ Next McWaters was to seize the stages running along the River between Donaldsonville and New Orleans, sending the conductors and the hacks, as well as any passengers not giving a good account of themselves, to headquarters at Franklin. In the arrests and seizures "*there must be secrecy.*" All sloops and schooners found "trading between the city and Donaldsonville and above" were to be taken to Thibodaux or destroyed. Should he need help in the execution of his orders, he might call upon the loyal citizens of the parishes. And he might, if the people of the Coast would aid him, attack the Federal picket guard at Kennerville on the east bank of the River sixteen miles above New Orleans.¹⁵

The most sweeping of McWaters' orders concerned disloyalty. He was to arrest and "forward" to Opelousas "all persons in the Parishes of St. John Baptist, St. Charles, St. James, Assumption and Ascension . . . who are giving aid and assistance to the enemy, or who have taken the oath of allegiance to the United States." Later supplemental orders and instructions gave McWaters discretionary authority to make arrests for offenses against the proclamations of the Governor of Louisiana and the President of the Confederate States. Prisoners were to be treated as their importance dictated. Many "whose position in life has no weight" were not worth much trouble and McWaters might deal with them summarily, requiring upon their release an oath and parole. "Prisoners of a higher order and whose offences and crimes may lead the people to join" were to be detained subject to the Governor's order. McWaters should "authorize someone to procure the necessary testimony and proof of the guilt of the party."

¹⁴ For an earlier episode involving E. W. T. Burbank see Lathrop, "The Lafourche District in 1861-1862," 111.

¹⁵ Orders No. 730 (Moore), July 7, 1862, and Grivot to McWaters, July 8, 1862, Martin Papers. Also in Martin Papers are a copy of a certificate by Andrew W. McKee, Major and Agent War Department, C.S.A., Washington, Louisiana, June 21, 1862, to the effect that McWaters was "regularly commissioned" in Confederate service, and that his receipts for subsistence and transportation would be duly paid; and a copy of Orders No. 728 (Moore), July 7, 1862, authorizing McWaters to seize and receipt for subsistence and forage.

Captain, the Governor . . . hopes that your visits in the parishes on the river will be hailed with pleasure and will give life and animation and restore confidence At the first you must expect the people will feel displeased, as many look to the almighty dollar and care little about patriotism But after a while when they shall find that their interest will be with the south, they will join and aid you¹⁶

McWaters' supplemental instructions informed him that he might expect to be reënforced by the "Grivot Rangers," Captain S. D. Ashe. This St. Landry company had been sent to the Mississippi between Red River and Bayou Plaquemine on a mission similar to that of McWaters; a particular object was to render "unfit for enemy use" the Baton Rouge and Grosse Tete Railroad. On July 25 Ashe was directed to proceed down the coast of the Mississippi to report to McWaters in St. John the Baptist Parish. As he moved through the parishes he would carry out his original orders to arrest traitors and to seize or destroy vessels employed in trade with the enemy. Ashe's junction with McWaters, which took place the night of August 4, brought McWaters' total force to 114 men and 136 horses.¹⁷

McWaters had in the meantime begun promptly his measures against disloyalty, acting with enough vigor that professed Union men soon pled with Major-General Benjamin F. Butler, the Federal commander in New Orleans, to protect them from bands of partisan rangers.¹⁸ Two of McWaters' prisoners, presumably the Burbank brothers, reached Opelousas

¹⁶ Special Orders No. 76 (Moore), July 25, 1862, and Grivot to McWaters, July 25, 1862, Martin Papers.

¹⁷ Special Orders No. 63 (Moore), July 9, 1862; "Instructions to Captain S. D. Ashe of Partisan Rangers" (Moore), July 12, 1862; Special Orders No. 75 (Moore), July 25, 1862; Grivot to Ashe, July 28, 1862; McWaters to Martin or Colonel W. W. Pugh, August 5, 1862. These documents are all in Martin Papers, the first four as copies.

¹⁸ B. F. Coxe, Ascension Parish, Louisiana, Gen. B. F. Butler, July, 1862, and petition of various residents (all with German names) of the Vacherie Settlement, St. James Parish, Louisiana, to Butler, July 19, 1862, *Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler during the Period of the Civil War* (5 vols., [Norwood, Mass.], 1917), II, 75, 89-90. (Hereinafter cited as *Butler Correspondence*.)

before July 25. According to the Adjutant and Inspector General, the prisoner from St. John the Baptist, i. e., S. N. Burbank, "admits that he has the flag of the U. S. at his house, which is waved by his family when the boat passes. The other [E. W. T. Burbank] I have but little doubt is as guilty[.] But they are both shrewd and sharp."¹⁹ E. W. T. Burbank was soon released on parole, but imprisonment of his brother continued, bringing consequences that might easily have been predicted. In New Orleans a third Burbank appealed to Butler for assistance and vengeance. His brother S. N. was, he said, near St. Martinville, "confined in a hog pen without a blanket, and almost without clothes, and covered with vermin. He has been sick for two weeks without any attention whatever . . ." "They are murdering him slowly to get rid of him, so that it will not be said that they hung or shot him for fun, that you might retaliate on those that you hold here." Burbank asked that the release or parole of his brother be extorted from the Confederates by a retaliatory confinement of A. Deslonde, a paroled prisoner and "brother-in-law of Slidell and Beauregard." He also urged severity in dealing with the River parishes, and reported information concerning the Confederate military situation on Lafourche.²⁰ In compliance with Burbank's request, Butler sent Deslonde with a letter to "Officer Commanding Forces at Opelousas." Butler was, he said, holding Deslonde and others as "hostages for the safety of Mr. Burbank and other peaceable citizens of the United States who have been taken by your forces." He wished to know

whether it is not possible that some arrangement be entered into by which the citizens who are quietly at home may be left unmolested. Of course this is a matter as regards numbers that may be arrested of much more importance to the forces which you command than it can be to me . . .²¹

The remaining steps in this affair did not find their way into

¹⁹ Grivot to McWaters, July 25, 1862.

²⁰ Thomas S. Burbank to Butler, August 20, 27, 1862, *Butler Correspondence*, II, 216-217, 231-232.

²¹ Letter of August 25, 1862, *Official Records*, ser. II, vol. IV, 431-432; also in *Butler Correspondence*, II, 217-218.

official correspondence; but S. N. Burbank survived to appear the next year in New Orleans as a good Union man.²²

Governor Moore's rather fantastic hopes for rallying the River parishes, noticed above as one feature of McWaters' instructions, were expounded at length by M. Grivot, Adjutant and Inspector General, in a letter of July 23, 1862, to Brigadier-General Martin.

Governor Moore directs me to say that he desires you would report to him the numbre [*sic*] of Companies, you have now in active service, and whether you have been able to obtain a Company from the River Parishes— If not, and this owing to the fact that the people of those Parishes have been parolised [*sic*] as it were by the fall of New Orleans, & have as yet not recovered from the effects—he can send, with orders to report to you, companies, with powers to act on the River Mississippi and to endeavour to restore confidence in the public mind—for it is only a restoration of Confidence that is required, and the people of the River Parishes will rise en masse against their oppressors.

The recent events which have transpired at Vicksburg, by the action of the ram Arkansas . . . proves, that we are not so straightened [*sic*] as we were in our defences and with energy on the part of our Inhabitants and citizens, New Orleans can again be ours— The Arkansas it is reported will shortly trip it down the River & attack the boats at New Orleans when the River Parishes will see her on her way, they surely, to a man, will take their guns to the rescue. In fact our information from Gentlemen of the highest respectability of the Parishes, tells us that this is all that is wanted—Confidence & some one to urge the people on—

Anything in the way of Companies will be endeavoured to send in that direction to aid & facilitate you . . .

Grivot closed upon a more subdued and realistic note. The Governor was, he said, trying to procure ammunition—a want

²² See his name among the signatories to a letter of October 14, 1863, in New Orleans *Times*, October 16, inviting A. J. Hamilton, Federal military governor of Texas, to give an address. Apparently he had returned to his objectionable Union ways soon after his release. See report of Lieutenant-Commander F. A. Roe, U. S. Navy, October 3, 1862, *Official Records*. . . *Navies*, ser. I, vol. XIX, 246.

greatly felt—and arms. “We have to do the best we can with the little means in our power—”

A fortnight after Grivot wrote, the *Arkansas* did come down river, her mission being to support an attempt to take Baton Rouge. But weakness in her machinery led to her inglorious destruction; and the Confederate assault upon the town failed with heavy loss (August 5). These events, though partly offset later by Federal withdrawal from Baton Rouge, were not of a kind to produce “a restoration of Confidence.” Whether the Lafourche district and the River parishes would rally in spite of them remained to be seen.

A Letter From a Yankee Bride in Ante-Bellum Louisiana

Edited by JOHN Q. ANDERSON

who teaches at Texas Agricultural and
Mechanical College.

IMMEDIATELY AFTER HER marriage to James Tyson Lane in 1857, Connecticut-born Emma Lay came with her husband to her father-in-law's Louisiana cotton plantation, Weston Place, in East Feliciana Parish, about eight miles from Clinton. While her husband scouted for a plantation of his own to move his slaves to, the bride amused herself by studying the plantation life which was so completely strange to her. In a letter to a friend in New England, she described a visit to church, elaborate meals, picking and ginning cotton, the slaves, and a Negro funeral. She soon fell in love with the South, was a loyal citizen of the Confederacy during the War, and died in Quincy, Illinois, about 1867. Because of its wealth of detail, Mrs. Lane's letter, with the exception of one paragraph, is quoted in full:

Weston Place
Clinton, La.
Oct. 6th, 1857

My dear Mrs. Rogers,

I have been waiting to get accustomed to my new home before writing to you because I knew you would wish to know everything about it, and I wanted to do it justice. We have been home six weeks last Saturday, and I like it better every week, though yesterday coming home from church I got a little blue contrasting these with home faces.

The church is between the size of ours and the Baptist, has no galleries, and doors at each end and at the sides, all oppo-

site for the air to circulate. The seat you occupy at home is vacant and I'm going to carry your picture and make it look homelike. The choir sit at the back of the church, and back of them the negroes sit, those who come with the carriages. (The negroes have a church and minister of their own). It is between seven and eight miles to church, so we have to get up earlier. Yesterday morning *we got up at half past eight*. We breakfast later than at home—and thanks to my Yankee blood I get up earlier than the rest.

We start for church half past nine and get home about half past two. The family carriage is large, holding Father, Mother, James, Eddie, Julia, Emma, and I, but James and I oftener go in a one-horse concern, a Boston gig like Mr. Gullie's, with James' pony, Charlie. The carriage horses are handsome-built animals, large and milk-white in color, so you see my "Par [Pa] Lane" goes in style. Henry, the carriage man, is a good looking nigger and as polite as can be. So much for the externals of going to meeting, except that after I get ready, Polly pulls down every fold of my dress, puts her hands up and down, and I look like a cheese "when I start." There is but one service in a day, and we get home to dinner.

I will tell you yesterday's dinner so you may know how we live: okra (or gumbo) soup, boiled ham, beef steak, broiled chicken, fried chicken and chicken pie, peas, Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes, rice, hominy, peach jelly, muscadine jelly, and apply jelly, (onions for me), and coffee; for dessert, sweet potato pie and pound cake of any kind we wish or honey, and milk to drink. Of cows, I never saw such a number as are milked here. I counted twenty-three in the milk-yard, and I don't know how many are fattening, and then Aunt Nanny says, "Mistus, Uncle Gabe must go and buy some butter." The negroes all have all the milk and butter they want, which accounts for it.

The house stands at the foot of an avenue a quarter of a mile long, which leads to the house from the cars.¹ The yard

¹ This railroad, one of the oldest in the South, connected Clinton and Port Hudson.

in which the house itself stands is about as large as the smooth part of our green [village park] and is filled with china and sweet bay trees. In one corner is the dove house; then comes the kitchen, one room to cook in, another room where the house servants eat and upstairs where they sleep.

The house servants consist of Gabe, who is an old man of fifty years; he cuts wood, helps milk, and "converses," which last is about the most of his work. Polly to cook, or rather to help Aunt Nanny cook, (Polly is about thirty), and to do the chamber work. She is headwaiter and, in short, is in everybody's mess. She has all the keys to everything. Then there are Calvin, table waiter, etc., Hetty, table girl, George, table, and Hannah and Hetty to sew. By the kitchen is one store-room where the sugar barrels and flour and molasses, coffee sacks, tea-chests, preserves, etc., etc., are kept. Back of this is a smoke house.

On the other side is a store-room for dry goods, where the family goods to be made up are kept, pieces of cotton and linen, calico, gingham, muslin, berage, merino, delaine, blankets, shoes, negro cloth,² whale bone, hooks and eyes, etc., etc., just like a store; then come the granery, then the chicken-lot, then the carriage house and horse lot. I don't know how many horses there are. Then there are three negro houses, and this makes Weston Place. Then comes the plantation. The house stands at one end and the negro houses where the plantation hands live in the middle, so that we call going to where they live, the plantation. We go over by a road through thick woods, but wide enough for a carriage. In the first place comes the lot for the pigs. Then for the fattening cattle, etc., etc. Then comes a monstrous barn, then granery for the plantation, then blacksmith shop where Charles, one of the men, shoes the horses. He is the genius, can do anything—smart as any white man. Close by this is where he does joiner work. Further on is where the corn is ground, a huge mill, and hard-by is the cotton gin. We will stop here and rest a little while, and I'll tell you about the cotton. It grows

² Jeans, a durable cotton cloth in a twill weave.

on a shrub, higher than my head, in a kind of egg-shaped pod and about the size. This bursts open and contains the seeds and has to be ginned to separate it from the cotton. Of these bolls, as they are called, there may be two hundred on one stalk. The negroes have a large basket which they carry on the head when full. This is what they pick cotton in. I think it is as pretty a sight as I ever saw, the negroes (women and all) coming up to the gin, balancing these big baskets with the snowy cotton on their heads, contrasting so with their black faces. Some come kicking up their heels and dancing along as happy as Tilly, with a curtsy to young Missy and bow as may be, with the baskets all the while firmly standing.

They are just as merry a set of beings as ever you saw. I asked Peggy one day if she wasn't warm picking cotton in the hot sun. "Bless your putty eyes, Missy," said she, "taint too hot," and sure enough one of these cooler days, here she comes with yarn stockings, freezing to death. I please them, asking who wants to go home with me and tell them awful stories about the cold, at which they roll their white eyes in horror and scream out, "Laws, Missy, don't take me, please don't."

I began telling you about the gin, but to describe it you must come and see it. It comes like a snow-storm from the lint room, which is dark. It is so flaky and light, the cotton, I mean. From this we go to the houses, made of logs. First lives "Granny," and a nicer old nigger than sun never rose on. She is about sixty, after which they don't work. She, however, has worse than work. All the rest pick cotton till it's time to get their dinner and leave the babies with her, of which I should think there might be thirty. They almost all have an older sister or something of the kind to rock them, but thirty little imps all crying at once wouldn't be fine. It is amusing how soon they learn to be respectful to Master and Missy. When James and I go in, they come creeping up, sticking up their little hands, "Do, Mars James," "Do, Missy Emmy." If I hadn't a heart, I couldn't help loving the little black things. There is one, Joe, who *will* climb up on my

lap, despite all I can do, and puts his fingers square in my eyes and says, "Putty Missy eyes." I think of you and pup "Nigger" every time he begins his antics.

The oldest of the negroes died just before we came. They had a funeral sermon preached for him a week ago. The meeting was under some beech trees where seats had been fixed. All Father's negroes were there and a great many from the plantations around here. It was as simple and touching a meeting as I ever saw. Father had gone away, so James and I went over in all the dignity of Master and Mistress. They carried out rush bottom chairs for us, found the nicest shade and fixed us as comfortable as could be. They sang as sweetly as could be the hymn beginning "How Sweet the Name of Jesus Sounds" to begin the meeting. Then such a simple prayer just for such things as they needed. Then came the sermon from a negro preacher. The subject of it was death and judgment. He began by describing Christ in the manger, then followed Him through His childhood, His crucifixion and death. I never heard anything more beautiful, the simple Bible story. Then he told of His resurrection and how it availed for sinners. Then he told of sin and described the day of judgment of which he spoke thus: "And there shall dawn a day lighted not by the sun, but by the burning world, a day when the dead shall hear the thundering roll of the trumpet and stand before the great white throne of God." His pictures were grand. I was amazed. After the preaching was over, they all went to the grave and kneeled around it and sang "There is a Fountain Filled with Blood." Then came the prayer which was said somewhat after the manner of the litany in the Episcopal church, only the preacher half chanted the petitions, which were like this: "Lord, fit us for the day of judgment"; to which the negroes responded, "Good Lord, hear us." After they rose from their knees, still standing round the grave, they shook hands with us, promising to be good and faithful, etc. You would have cried your eyes out.

Then while we sat in Granny's house waiting for our car-

riage to be brought up, Louisa brought us a plate of chicken pot-pie and a cup of as nice coffee as you ever drank, swimming with rich cream. It was right acceptable too, for it was past dinner and we were hungry. I think every day I want you to come so much to see everything here. It is different from Connecticut, but I wouldn't come back, only for the sake of being with my friends . . . Tell my "Mar" (Ma) I got her letter and if I don't write today, will soon.

With love to everybody, I am your affectionate,

Emma Lay Lane.

Typescript of original letter in possession of Mrs. S. W. Plache, Lake Charles, Louisiana, granddaughter of Mrs. Lane. The original was lost after the copy was made.

Pay the Preacher!

Two Letters From Louisiana, 1864

Edited by WILLARD E. WIGHT

a member of the Department of Social
Science, Georgia Institute of Technology.

THE CREATION OF THE Confederate States of America and the subsequent blockade and invasions of the South posed many problems for the individual churches of the various religious denominations, problems which they were all too frequently unable to meet. Attendance was often poor and those who did attend services frequently did so at considerable risk and discomfort. Conditions within the Confederacy hindered the convening of religious bodies, memberships were diminished, invasion and blockade required considerable adjustments in church practices to be made, many of the religious ministers and leaders were serving in the Southern armies. But of all the handicaps suffered by the churches of the Confederate states, it was the inflation resulting from the Confederacy's general financial plight which bore most heavily and which made the support of the churches and of the clergy a continuing problem. As the value of Confederate money decreased, many congregations raised minister's salaries, but these increases generally failed to keep pace with the inflation.

A partial solution to the problem of supporting clergymen was found in furnishing them provisions. The venerable Lovick Pierce of Georgia suggested in 1861 that parishioners give provisions to their minister and deduct the value of such contributions from their cash pledges.¹ The Quarterly Conference of the Sumter Circuit of the South Carolina Meth-

¹ Richmond *Christian Advocate*, January 23, 1862.

odist Conference allowed its pastor salt, soap, tallow, firewood and other provisions for 1865 which were valued at \$7,000, in addition to \$1,600 in money.² For the same year the Iredell Circuit of the North Carolina Methodist Conference allowed its preacher provisions which had an aggregate value of \$11,900 and which included vinegar, forage, jeans cloth, striped or checked cloth, domestics and leather.³ On the Fayette Circuit of the Mississippi Methodist Conference, the good women of the Female Financial Association decided in April, 1865, "to make the preacher a suit to be black in color and one of the members to dye the cloth."⁴

That all Methodist ministers were not as fortunate is pointed up by the plight of the clergymen referred to in the letters here presented. One went away without full payment of his salary and the other, although possessing only one arm, was driven from his master's work and told by his parishioners to, "go dig with your one hand for your wife and little ones." To their everlasting glory, neither was driven from his calling.

While nothing is known, beyond what can be gleaned by internal evidence, concerning the writer of the first letter, something of the lives and characters of the Methodist ministers who loom large in the letters is of record.

James Earl Bradley was admitted on trial by the Louisville Methodist Conference in 1856 and two years later was admitted to full connection with that body and ordained a deacon. In 1859 he removed to Louisiana and was admitted to the Methodist Conference in that state where he served until his death with the exception of two years, 1875-1876, when he was a member of the Columbia Annual Conference

² MS Quarterly Conference Minutes, Sumter Circuit, South Carolina Annual Conference, 1844-1871, Quarterly Conference of December 20, 1864. South Carolina Conference Historical Society, Wofford College.

³ MS Quarterly Conference Minutes, Iredell Circuit, North Carolina Annual Conference, 1852-1873, Quarterly Conference of January 28, 1865. Duke University.

⁴ MS Origin, Constitution and Records of the Female Financial Association of Fayette Circuit, 1858-1865, Entry for April 13, 1865. Mississippi Conference Historical Society, Millsaps College.

in Oregon.⁵ During the Civil War, Bradley served stations in the Opelousas District of Louisiana where he was active in succoring the needs of the Confederate soldiers as the following advertisement indicates:

The citizens are aware of the fact that a great many of our brave and self-sacrificing soldiers have no clothing—really in rags. It is also known that it is utterly impossible for them to purchase necessary articles with the small stipend, at the present exorbitant rates. With these and other facts before the subscribers, they propose to raise a collection in money and all articles of clothing necessary to camp life, for the benefit of those soldiers who may lack. The generous citizens are now called upon, to aid the rebel—glorious name,—Washington was a rebel—substantially; while he fights and concludes the glorious struggle for political and religious liberty.

The amount of money will be laid out in goods as fast as received; and while we do this, we earnestly request the ladies who have looms and wheels to send us word how many pairs of socks, how many yards of cloth, &c., they will subscribe. Communications through the Post Office attended to.

Rev. Jas. E. Bradley

Rev. B. F. White

Rev. McConnell

P.S. The subscribers propose to have the goods made up and kept here for delivery. Soldiers passing who need, will be furnished as fast as possible.⁶

By December 9, 1864, cash and clothing in the amount of \$2771.30 had been received and all but \$640 worth of it had

⁵ New Orleans *Christian Advocate*, July 8, 1886; "Louisville Conference Minutes for 1856, 1857, 1858, 1859" in *Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1845-1870*, 3 vols. (Imprint varies), I, 658, 738, 740; II, 7, 10, 103. "Louisiana Conference Minutes for 1859, 1860, 1861," *Ibid.*, II, 136, 234, 325.

⁶ Unidentified newspaper advertisement, probably from the Opelousas *Courier*, dated August 6, 1864. The James E. Bradley and Family Papers, Department of Archives, Louisiana State University.

been distributed.⁷ Later, when over \$3000 worth had been collected, it was announced that \$15,000 was the goal "if they meet with proper encouragement." The decision had also been reached to publish the names of contributors with the amounts subscribed and in what manner appropriated "to satisfy the public so that no one need apprehend a wrong direction of his donation."⁸

When Bradley died in his fifty-sixth year on March 11, 1886, at the Methodist parsonage at Lake Charles, Louisiana, it was said of him that he "was the true type of the Methodist itinerant preacher, promptly and cheerfully obedient to every call to duty, not complaining in arduous labor, constantly mindful of the best interests of the church, courteous towards all men, and, blending true humility with superior mental attainments, his work was always effective."⁹

The two letters here presented, reflecting one facet of Methodism in Louisiana during the last years of the Civil War, are from the James E. Bradley and Family Papers in the Department of Archives, Louisiana State University. Their publication is made possible through the courtesy and cooperation of V. L. Bedsole, Archivist, and his staff.

Plaquemine Brulee July 12th, 1864

Bro. Bradley.

I call you by the endearing name of Brother without having the right to do so yet I like the name and take the liberty to use it. Well then Bro. Bradley, I owe you one hundred Dollars which I shall pay in a one hundred dollar 7.30 note. You will ask why I owe you a hundred dollars. I heard you preach the truth in Opelousas a short time since in regard to the difference made between the officers and soldiers of our army in regard to the manner in which and the unchristian spirit exhibited in turning away the poor soldier,

⁷ Unidentified newspaper clipping, dated Opelousas, December 9, 1864, *ibid.*

⁸ Unidentified newspaper clipping. This item is printed on wallpaper, *ibid.*

⁹ New Orleans *Christian Advocate*, July 8, 1886.

naked, and hungry, and sick and dying, and at the same time worshipping the officer who is already well provided for, unfortunately I am one of the *wayside hearers* and consequently do not recollect the whole tenor of your discourse, but to my mind on that day it was *sound logical* and *truthful* and ought to have been *convincing*. It must have been a hard lick you gave some of them for I was told on the same evening that there were some of those officer worshippers there and it may be some were there, that had danced with the officer on the *blood* of the soldier, that *blood* that was consecrated to the cause of our country. I repeat it was a hard *lick* but they *deserved* it. it was truth. next truth (not only truth you have told but the truth I owe you for, is the rap you gave the *close fist*ed methodist yesterday evening. how when giving money for any benevolent purpose they would squeeze the eagle (I almost expected to hear you say until it squealed) how firmly they would grasp the paltry trash that we call money and hoard it up, and at the same time let their preacher go away penniless to starve, it was another one of your hard raps over the knuckles but it was *truth*, we as a people deserve it. I was once a praying methodist, it does not become me to say what I did or did not do at that time, but I can tell what we as a church done. we sent the Rev. B. F. White¹⁰ away without his salary being paid in full, but worse than that we sent away the Rev. Dan Watkins with his one arm to dig for the

¹⁰ Benjamin Franklin White, a fellow laborer with Bradley in the cause of the Confederate soldier, was born at Franklin, Tennessee, September 3, 1827. During the Mexican War he served in the 1st Regiment, Tennessee Volunteers, in 1852 he was licensed and received on trial by the Tennessee Annual Conference, and in 1856 was transferred to the Louisiana Conference where he was later ordained by Bishop Joshua Soule to the office of deacon. In spite of his clerical office, White is said to have served as captain of a battery of artillery in the Confederate Army and to have "fired the first gun in defense of Vicksburg." In addition to ministering as pastor of numerous churches in nearly all sections of Louisiana, served the Opelousas Female School in 1866, Centenary College as agent in 1871, and from 1872 to 1874 was presiding elder of the Opelousas District. One of four brothers who were preachers, he was retired in 1901 and died at Alexandria January 6, 1904. (*Minutes of the Fifty-Ninth Session of the Louisiana Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Held in Lake Charles, Louisiana, December Seventh to Twelfth Nineteen Hundred and Four*, Covington, Louisiana, n.d., 64-65.) Of him, and other early Methodist preachers like him, Robert H. Harper wrote in his *Louisiana Methodism* (Washington, 1949, 93): "There were giants in the earth in those days."

support of his needy family.¹¹ we drove him from his masters work and said to him in effect go dig with your one hand for your wife and little ones. you would ask who hath done this thing, and as a whole you may point to the close fistd praying methodist and say thou art the man. we have driven him away from his sphere of usefulness when a few hundred dollars (of our rags that we are almost ready now to light our pipes with) would have continued him in his sphere of usefulness amongst us. and today he might under God, have been here in God's earthly sanctuary inviting the sinner to turn from the error of his way, he might today have been with you advocating the cause of his Blessed master, and a more zealous advocate for the cause of Religion I never saw in the sacred desk than old Dan Watkins. But we have driven him away. we drove him and his dependent family away out in the wilderness to dig or starve. But we could not drive his heart away from us so easy. no, that was at his own disposal and he left it with us, listen, he says in a letter to me. Oh how I long to be in Plaquemine Brulee again, to preach you some of the sermons that I have studied out between the *plough handles*, although sent away empty, although he had to sell his horses and buggy (the only means he had of getting to his appointments) to pay his honest debts, although turned out of doors in opelousas and that by praying methodists. although turned out to depend on his own exertions and on a cold and unfriendly world yet he remembers us in his prayers, all this is the work of close fistd methodism. Bro. Bradley preach about this close fistd methodism wherever you go,

¹¹ Daniel S. Watkins, he of the one arm, was born in Washington Parish, Louisiana, December 16, 1821. Converted in 1842, he was licensed to preach in 1844 and received on trial by the Mississippi Annual Conference the next year. When the Louisiana Annual Conference was formed in January, 1847, Watkins was an organizing member but was not present at the meeting. From 1860 through 1863, he was stationed at Opelousas Station which in 1861 had 240 white members, 25 white probationers and 75 colored members. In 1864, he is listed in the Conference Minutes as serving in Texas. He transferred in 1865 to the East Texas Annual Conference where he served until retired in 1886. The next year he died, while on his way to a Sunday appointment. See *Minutes of the Forty-Third Annual Session of the East Texas Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. Held at Marshall, Texas, Dec. 7-12, 1887* (Tyler, Texas, 1888), 36-37; Harper, *Louisiana Methodism*, 84.

if it grates harshly on the ear, let it grate, it is truth and it is your mission to tell the truth. I give you this 7.30 note which you can convert into five Dollar notes and with them you can buy something for the use of your family, and possibly continue you that much longer in your sphere of influences in the work that God has given to you to do, but I fear the time is coming when *old* Bradley will become too complacent for modern methodism, his family will become too numerous, his wants too great, we will have used him long enough and then turn him out to graze. Oh is there, can there be, one spark of vital religion where money is the God. I must close lest I weary you. But, that you use the sword of truth to the dividing between the sinner and his sins, between the miserly methodist and his money God, is the prayer of your friend

V. C. Clarke

That you will remember me daily at your devotions. present me by name at a throne of grace is my earnest desire VCC

Aug. 8, 1864

Bro. V. C. Clarke

My Very Dear Sir: — I hereby acknowledge the receipt of your correspondence, dated July 12th 1864, and the contents (\$100, at 7.30). In making this acknowledgment, I must confess that I feel it is not because of any ability in my possession, that you were prompted to be so generous towards me by word and act, but rather through a benevolent spirit indulged toward a laborious branch of the clergy.

Be assured that it rejoices my heart to call you brother, (for you have done a brother's part) and much more, to have you use the same hearty Christian expression toward me. Though out of the Church; Yet I am satisfied fully that you intend beating your onward & upward march toward those fields of elysion glory prepared by him "who liveth forever and ever," and who is "King of Kings and Lord of Lords."

Of course it would be a gratification to me of no ordinary degree to know that you enjoyed a full measure of divine love; having full assurance to a crown incomparable, undefiled and that fadeth not away, eternal in the heavens. But sir, I enjoy the belief that you are making proper efforts in this direction and that ultimately all will be well. God grant that I may not be deceived in my judgment.

Your communication is very severe upon a class pretty numerous who fail to do their duty respecting the *proper support* of their ministers. But in my humble opinion the blows though heavy are well-timed. Would that such "shells" were more frequently thrown into the enemy's stronghold. Perhaps we would have a holier church, a happier people, and a more attentive world to the truths of the Gospel of life. Some of the noblest minds of the Methodist ministry have been crushed or driven from the field, because of such wretched apologists of Christianity—miserable misers, who count it all gain to stint their preachers and defraud him of his just earnings, and then go to church to sing psalmody. These same individuals pay their taxes for state privileges. They pay the teacher of their children. They pay their physician who looks after their miserable bodies; they pay their grocer or salesman; but their *preacher is last and least*, and sometimes altogether forgotten. They not infrequently pay or give their Negroes more pocket money (to each one) than they pay to their minister. Sometimes, when they contribute to his support they select the worst of the flock, contrary to the divine law.

I know not the people of your section; they like yourself, have always treated me most kindly. God forbid that they should be classed among vain & wicked professors, who do more real harm to Christianity than all the infidel works combined. I'd rather live with the generous sinner than to company with such hirelings of the Prince of the powers of the air.

God helping me I expect to battle for my master while life
& ability remain.

Praying God's mercies to abide with you and yours,

I remain your humble brother in Christ,

Jas. E. Bradley

Aug. 8, 1864

Vignettes

THE STATUE OF MARGARET HAUGHERY

“. . . New Orleans is, with every reason, proud of having erected the first statue in America to a woman, a humble Irish heroine who could neither read nor write, and whose signature was a cross. But she made her sign in memory of Him Who said, ‘Suffer little children to come unto Me and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven.’

“Margaret Haughery began life as a chamber-maid. She saved money, and, having been brought up on a farm, bought ‘a dun cow,’ sold the milk, made a beginning in this way, saved more money, and invested in a small bakery. The bread was excellent; she was prompt in her delivery and prospered, until at last the little bakery developed into an immense money-making affair worked by steam, which yielded her a fortune. But from the moment she began to prosper she began to give. Her heart was not the heart of a mother whose love is centered only in her own children; she was one of those gifts from God, a universal mother to the lonely children in a hard world. All orphans, those poor and friendless little ones found in her a tender mother who worked early and late to provide for their needs and give them homes. She had good business capacity and succeeded in her various enterprises. She built St. Vincent’s Orphan Asylum facing the Square. What joy it must have given her big heart to see the foundations laid! She helped to build St. Elizabeth’s Industrial Home for Girls, and when she died the whole of her fortune was distributed among different charities for the children whom she loved so well.

“Although Margaret was a good Catholic, her intelligence was too large for sectarianism. Jews and Protestants were alike to her—they were little, they were helpless, they were babies,—she gave from her largesse to them all. Her will, leaving the whole of her savings to New Orleans orphanages and homes, was signed with her blessed mark, a cross, and now, . . . Margaret’s face is turned toward the windows of her Orphanage, and the children stand at twilight look back and say, ‘There is dear Margaret. I wish I might have known her.’ And the very marble seems to smile. The face is rugged and broad, but strong and kind and even distinguished, as every face must

be that is illumined by a divine spirit from within. She is plainly dressed and wears a crochet shawl, her Sunday best, made by tiny fingers that, but for her, might have perished by the wayside. Keep guard, dear mother's heart, over those helpless ones who are taught by the gentle nuns always to remember you in their innocent prayers."

Mrs. T. P. O'Connor, *My Beloved South* (New York, 1914), 205-207.

Louisiana State University

The Editors

JOHN ROY AND THE DEFENSE OF NEW ORLEANS — 1862

"Went to town and found that the Yanky fleet had passed the Forts and were coming up the River. Went to Commodore Whittle: asked him to let me have the Floating Battery to mount the Spare guns around the Customs House, upon which were seven. He Said: 'Take her.' I done so, and had commenced to get the guns on board when a Naval Officer got the Commodore to take her from me and gave her to him. I took my men off the Battery and Bradford got a lot of soldiers with pipes in their mouth, who might fight but would not work, so that he prevented me from doing anything with the Battery and could do nothing himself. I then went to a meeting of citizens and tried to get command of the Fire Boats. But there was so much discussion about it that I despaired of being able to do anything. So I went to General Smith; got an order to lease a steamboat and go to the upper Forts and get 3 - 42 lb. and take them to Fort McGee, and fight them with what men I could raise. I got the Morgan Nelson and 29 men, but had no provisions. Went to the free market and begged for enough to live for 2 days and Mr. Murrey gave us just what we wanted. We then left for the forts above, dismounted 3 - 42s and got them on board by morning."

John Roy, Diary, April 24, 1862. Department of Archives, Louisiana State University

Istrouma High School

James O. Lang

ALEXANDRIA MARKET IN 1836

State of Louesianna Rappide Parrish

Alexandria October the 25 - 1836

"... In respects produce I will say to you that it would not make any material difference about ingageing produce for Alexandria is a fine market for all kind of produce and it will redally command

cash. Corn is all ways worth one dollar per barrel, that is a flower barrel full of years or one bushel and a half sheld corn. Flower is worth at this time #.14 per barrel but I think it will fall. Porke is worth \$.22 per barrel and I think will keep high all the season. Those artacles are in demand and will sell redally for cash. I live 8 miles below Alexandria on red River. My famelly will remain on the plantation all this winter and if you Should visit those parts please doe me the plasure to call and get acquainted with my famelly whether I am to home or not my overseer will allso bee on the plantation. I have no more news to give you so a due by subscribing Myself,"

Yours Varry truly
s/s Richard George
Richard Pruett

My respects to your famelly

This letter is in the possession of the undersigned.

Houston, Texas

P. S. Luttrell

AN EARLY SURVEY OF NATCHITOCHES

"Pursuant to an Order from the Surveyor of the Lands of the United States south of the State of Tennessee and in conformity with the request of Piere Ganea Claimant I have Surveyed a tract of Land on both sides of Red River above Campty—Being Section No.

in Township No. Range No. and bounded as follows

viz.—Beginning at a Mulberry and up the River on the East side N. 15 W. 54 poles to a Cedar State thence N. 51 E. 120 poles to a White Oak thence S. 15 E. 54 poles to a White Oak thence S. 51 W. 120 poles to the beginning thence across the River to a Hackberry thence S. 88 W. 54 poles to a Gum thence N. 3 E. 30 poles to a Hackberry thence N. 72 E. 40 poles to a Hackberry thence down the River S. 15 E. 44 poles to the begining Hackberry—Containing 38 acres on the East side of the River and 11 Acres & 23 Hundredths of an Acre on the West side of the Same and having such Shape form and marks natural and artificial as is represented in the above Plat—The 14th of Jany 1806."

Sam Cook Deputy Survr
Natchitoches County

Northwestern State College

George A. Stokes

Notes and Comments

PERSONALS

The Department of Social Studies, Louisiana State University in New Orleans: *New Appointments*: E. Frank Masingill, formerly of Louisiana College, as Associate Dean of Men and assistant professor of history; Thomas W. Africa, formerly of the University of California at Santa Barbara, assistant professor; Joseph L. Brent, Ph. D. from the University of California at Los Angeles, assistant professor; Stephen E. Ambrose, Ph. D. candidate at the University of Wisconsin, instructor. *Promotions*: Thomas F. Harwood to assistant professor.

The Department of Social Studies, Southwestern Louisiana Institute: *New Appointments*: Norman B. Ferris, assistant professor; Carroll C. Gates, temporary instructor. *Leave of Absence*: Paul J. Stewart, Jr., who is on a Fulbright scholarship. *Resignations*: Robert M. Albert and Robert R. Miller.

The Department of History, Louisiana College: F. Jay Taylor appointed Dean of the College. Dr. Taylor also spent August in Washington, D. C., doing research on the biography of General Claire Lee Chennault.

Louisiana Polytechnic Institute's Department of Social Sciences: *New Appointments*: Edward H. Mosely, Ph. D. candidate at the University of Alabama, assistant professor of history; Philip Shea, Ph. D. candidate at Michigan State University, instructor in geography. *Resignation*: J. Byron Patrick to accept a position with a church-affiliated college in Massachusetts. Dr. G. W. McGinty has prepared an 8,000 word article and short biographies on 25 prominent Louisianians for the *Collier's Encyclopedia*. Dr. R. O. Trout is preparing a film strip on the geography of Louisiana which will be available for the high schools in the state. On August 7-27, Dr. McGinty and Dr. Trout conducted the Tenth Educational Tour which traveled in 16 western states, studying the history and geography of the area. Six semester hours were earned by those who successfully completed the study requirements of the tour. Dr. W. Y. Thompson spent the summer doing research for his forthcoming biography of Robert Toombs.

The Department of History, Louisiana State University: *New Ap-*

pointments: Burl Noggle, formerly of New Mexico State University, and Donald Higginbotham, formerly of Longwood College, as assistant professors. *Leave of Absence:* J. Preston Moore to do research in Spain on a biography of Antonio de Ulloa on a Guggenheim Fellowship. *Resignation:* K. K. Bailey to accept a position at Texas Western College of the University of Texas.

The Department of Social Sciences, Southeastern Louisiana College: *New Appointments:* Dawson Crim, instructor in government; Don Ira Richards, temporary instructor. *Leave of Absence:* Howard Nichols to pursue work toward a Ph. D. at Louisiana State University. *Resignation:* John Reed to complete work on Ph. D. in sociology at Louisiana State University. Dr. Sidney J. Romero spent the summer doing research for a book on *Confederate Chaplains*.

Tulane University's History Department: *Promotions:* Charles P. Roland to professor; Phillip Detweiler to associate professor.

The Department of Social Sciences, McNeese State College: *New Appointments:* Martin Hall, formerly of Louisiana State University in New Orleans, assistant professor of history.

State Archives and Records Commission: In late July John C. L. Andreassen, Secretary-Treasurer of Louisiana Historical Association since its reorganization in 1958, was dismissed as Director of the State Archives and Records Service and was succeeded by John E. Regard, a Marksville businessman. Mr. Andreassen had returned to Louisiana after an absence of some years in January, 1955, to make a survey of the local and state archives of Louisiana. After the creation of the State Archives and Records Commission by legislative act in 1956, he became the first Director. In the late 1930's Mr. Andreassen was Director of the Louisiana Historical Records Survey and after that time served as Director of Administrative Services of the Library of Congress.

ALLIED ORGANIZATIONS

On May 8, 1960, twenty members of the Central Louisiana Historical Society made a field trip to Port Hudson where they viewed the battlefield and studied remains of the old fortifications of the area.

The New Iberia Colonials, Miss Alice Gates, President, have completed plans for their 1960-61 program year. The group will study the history of states, other than Louisiana, made wholly or in part from the Louisiana Purchase territory. Mrs. Earl Hall, Sr., is chairman of the program committee for the year.

The Opelousas Tourist Center and Museum, Mrs. L. A. Fontenot,

Jr., commission chairman, states that during the second year of operation ending July, 1960, over 11,000 visitors from all 50 states and 24 foreign countries toured the museum and tourist center. Recently the Center added the following acquisitions: Acadian handicraft souvenirs, phonograph records of Acadian folk songs, copy of a suit filed against Jim Bowie in Opelousas by Jese Andrus for the return of a mulatto slave girl or \$1,200, copy of Rezin Bowie, Jr.'s marriage certificate, a .54 caliber bullet fired by Union troops into the New Iberia city hall and removed in 1949, a copy of *Huey Pierce Long* by Harvey G. Fields. The Center also sponsored various fund raising functions to help pay for the Ben Prather collection purchased by the museum last August.

The Southwest Louisiana Historical Society is making an effort to collect archival material for Southwest Louisiana using the Lake Charles Public Library as depository. In collaboration with the Lake Charles chapters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Daughters of the American Revolution, an effort is being made to collect genealogies of the pioneer families of the region.

The thirty-fourth annual meeting of the Louisiana Academy of Sciences met on April 28, 29, and 30, 1960, at Northwestern State College. George A. Stokes presided over the first Social Science session, where the following papers were read: E. Frank Masingill, Louisiana College, "The Role of Henry Lane Wilson in the Overthrow and Assassination of Francisco Madero"; Ervin Mancil, Southeastern Louisiana College, "Some Aspects of Deep-Swamp Logging"; Ben Kaplan, Southwestern Louisiana Institute, "Sociological Changes in the Jewish Family." Yvonne Phillips was the chairman of the second Social Science session, where the following papers were presented: LeRoi Eversull, Northwestern State College, "Some Notes on the Origins and Evolution of the Louisiana Range Cattle Industry"; Lorimer E. Storey, Louisiana Polytechnic Institute, "The Louisiana Legislative Policy on Second Primaries for State Officers, 1906-1960"; John H. McCarter, Jr., Consultant Geologist, Monroe, "Discovery and Development of the Monroe Gas Field and its Relationship to the Monroe Area." On the afternoon of April 29, Mrs. John S. Kyser acted as guide for a tour of historic Natchitoches.

MISCELLANY

C. Harvey Gardiner, Professor of History, Southern Illinois University, announced completion of plans for an 8-volume bibliography of travel literature on Latin America in recent times. The series, con-

ceived with the co-operation of the Southern Illinois University Press, is intended to enrich and broaden the base for research in the area of Latin American independence, particularly in reference to social and cultural aspects. Among the contributors will be Dr. J. Preston Moore, Professor of History, Louisiana State University, in the field of Peru and Ecuador. Professor Gardiner is serving as general editor of the series. The first two volumes are tentatively set for publication in 1962-63 and thereafter it is hoped that the project can be completed at the rate of two volumes a year.

John C. L. Andreassen, former Director of the State Archives and Records Service, was made a Fellow of the Society of American Archivists at the annual dinner of the society at Boston, October 6, 1960. The nomination and election was made by the Committee on Professional Standards, of which Dr. Oliver W. Holmes is the 1960 chairman.

The Office of the Secretary of State reports the passage of the following acts during the 1960 session of the legislature which pertain to Louisiana history, archives, museums, parks, etc. Copies of the original acts may be secured from the Office of the Secretary of State.

Camp Moore Confederate Cemetery, presence after 7 P.M.—Act 338

Clinton Confederate Memorial Cemetery, appropriation—Act 473

Edward Douglas White Memorial Commission, created—Act 16

Flags, U. S., State and Confederate, desecration—Act 544

Jackson Confederate Memorial Cemetery, appropriation—Act 474

Louisiana Civil War Centennial Commission, created, appropriation—Act 587

Louisiana Commission on Cultural Resources, creation—Act 419

Louisiana Commission on Cultural Resources, creation, appropriation—Act 586

Louisiana Historical Association materials, printing—Act 491

Louisiana State University Law Library, depository for Courts of Appeal records—Act 37

Membership lists, destruction after six years—Act 390

Membership lists, exemptions from filing—Act 373

Municipalities and parishes, etc., authority to act jointly—Act 91

Orleans Parish Landmarks Commission, appropriation—Act 529

Parks and Recreation:

Commission, creation, etc.—Act 451

Livingston Parish Recreation District, created—Act 357

Parks in Concordia and Richland Parishes—Act 446

- Register of State Land Office to grant permits for recreational improvements—Act 583
- Roadside parks in Lafourche, Terrebonne, and Assumption Parishes—Act 253
- Public Safety, Central Records Bureau, establishment—Act 216
- Records, electronically processing information, privileged or confidential status—Act 371
- Records, revenue, confidential nature—Act 372
- Recorders of blueprint plans, destruction of plans—Act 434
- Revised Statutes and Legal Archives, distribution—Act 392
- Appropriations in the General Appropriations Act—Act 20:
- Printing history of Louisiana—Sch. 25
 - Archives and Records Commission—Sch. 30
 - Camp Moore Confederate Cemetery—Sch. 36
 - Confederate Memorial Hall—Sch. 43
 - Louisiana State Museum—Sch. 60
 - Old State Capitol Memorial Commission—Sch. 62
 - Recreation Commission—Sch. 65
 - Custodian of Notarial Records, Orleans Parish—Sch. 86

SAVE OUR HISTORIC BUILDINGS

The Editor
The Salt Lake *Tribune*
Salt Lake City, Utah

Dear Sir:

"This noon I overheard the conversation of two young businessmen who were admiring the model of the proposed Civic Center displayed in your Main Street window. Their thought was that if one built the new buildings and then 'pulled down that old cuss over there'—pointing with evident distaste to the present City-County Building, 'Salt Lake City would have a *real* Civic Center.'

"If one pulled down not only 'that old cuss' but the Temple, the Tabernacle, the Lion House, the Eagle Gate, the house of the Utah State Historical Society and the This is the Place Monument, and then, by concerted use of modern earth-moving equipment, levelled

the mountains that ring the city, using the material thus obtained to fill in the Great Salt Lake, Salt Lake City would not only have a Civic Center of the 1960 fashion but would look like almost every other city in the United States and some in the Netherlands and Israel."

Walter Muir Whitehill, Director of the Boston Athenaeum, in *Historic Preservation*, XII (1960, No. 2), 75.

"Maryland, which has suffered little by fire, war or flood or storm, has preserved only two courthouses of the eighteenth century, that of Queen Anne's County, dating from the last quarter of that century, and one other at Easton, which is now encased in a Georgian structure of 1958; while Virginia, which has been ravaged by war, can still boast of a number of beautiful courthouses of the Colonial period."

"H.D.B." (Mrs. Helen Duprey Bullock, Historian, The National Trust for Historic Preservation) in *Historic Preservation*, XII (1960, No. 2), 77.

Book Reviews

THIS INFERNAL WAR, The Confederate Letters of Sgt. Edwin H. Fay. Edited by Bell Irvin Wiley. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1958. viii, 474 pp. Portrait, appendixes, index. \$6.00.)

Edwin H. Fay, a schoolmaster from Minden, Louisiana, joined the Confederate army on April 4, 1862. Two days later he commenced writing his wife a long series of highly informative letters, 115 of which were preserved and are presented here. Fay was no ordinary soldier for he held both the B.A. and the M.A. degrees from Harvard University. His erudite letters are therefore of considerable value for they present a well-educated enlisted man's adventures in and opinions on life in the Southern army. They also reveal an individual whose picayune nature left much to be desired as far as the welfare of state and nation were concerned.

Fay considered himself a staunch Confederate patriot. He ran for a seat in the Louisiana Secession Convention, and throughout his letters voiced hope for Southern success, expressed his detestation of Yankees, and adamantly declared that he would never live under Yankee domination. It is curious, then, that such a zealot did not join the army—the vehicle by which his South might achieve independence—until a year after hostilities had begun. And once in the service it was hardly a month before Fay was doing his utmost to obtain a release. With his every subterfuge ending in failure, this “patriot” became progressively bitter. This bitterness is a major factor in the value of Fay's letters. Being so caustic—and literarily fluent, hardly *any* aspect of Confederate army life escaped his hypercritical observation and evaluation. Had he not been so disillusioned, he probably would not have gone to the trouble of describing and berating the many details of the service that displeased him. It appears that Fay was sincere in his Southern patriotism. But he was too self-centered, too concerned about his wife and family, and too short-sighted to realize that by refusing to exert his utmost effort in the war, he was contributing to the downfall of his civilization and the cause which he considered just.

Fay saw minor action in the Western theatre, but near the war's end managed to secure a transfer to the Trans-Mississippi Depart-

ment. Here he was later promoted to captain and given a "soft" quartermaster desk job. But he was still far from satisfied and continued to complain. While Lee's gallant troops stood hungry and ragged at Petersburg, Fay wrote of his own dinners of "pork and cabbage, gumbo, beef in various forms, but often wild duck baked."

Fay's letters were preserved by his family and are now in the possession of Lucy E. Fay, the author's youngest child. Miss Fay transcribed the letters for publication and supplied Bell Wiley with important family information to enable him to edit them in the creditable manner that he has. In addition to Wiley's excellent introduction, the volume includes brief explanatory remarks about relatives and other non-military figures mentioned in the letters, a roster of the Minden Rangers, and a comprehensive index.

McNeese State College

MARTIN HARDWICK HALL

LOUISIANA—The Pelican State. By Edwin Adams Davis. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959. xi, 356 pp. Illustrations, maps, index. \$4.95.)

In Edwin A. Davis' *Louisiana—The Pelican State*, a long-felt need had been met for an up-to-date history of Louisiana in one volume. Dr. Davis brings to his task a superior awareness of the history of his adopted State. Carefully and keenly he has worked to produce a mature, intelligent reappraisal of historical events, which is an enlightened study of Louisiana. His forthright literary style combined with sincerity, understanding, and the indefatigable choice of the right word at the right time, makes the book acceptable and enjoyable to all persons of all ages who love history.

One of the most satisfying aspects of the volume, which has been divided into eight parts, thirty-two chapters, is the fact that the author has admirably succeeded in encompassing that which is important to a State history. This is a comprehensive and significant study of the illustrious history of an illustrious State. It is of interest both to the student and to the historian. Organized in a logical chronological manner, the book carries the avid reader from the geological formation of the land to its discovery by LaSalle in 1682, and on through the colorful years to events transpiring as late as 1958. Pertinent and salient facts have not been sacrificed, nor does the author "gloss over." The graphic narrative style is crystal clear, and the format is most attractive.

Of outstanding value is the inclusion of maps, illustrations, reprints of old pictures and photographs. Data concerning the industry, commerce, economic development, and the vast resources of our State are presented in a most informative manner. Based upon historical fact, the progression in these fields is combined with an almost infinite variety of pertinent information concerning the sociological changes in each period. The cultural developments of successive eras are so well reported as to lend further authenticity to the lucid, easily followed story. Fascinating, too, are the folk songs, "dittys," campaign songs, superstitions, folk lore, and personal vignettes which add immeasurably to the enjoyment of the history-story.

Louisiana—The Pelican State is an outstanding account of historical events, and, more particularly, it is an important book—sufficiently important to become a permanent part of the collection of all lovers of the history of our beloved State of Louisiana.

Hamilton Terrace Junior High School MARGARET M. BRADBURY

THE LOST PANORAMAS OF THE MISSISSIPPI. By John Francis McDermott. (Chicago: the University of Chicago Press, 1958. xi, 211 pp. Appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$7.50.)

The panoramas restored to life in this intriguing book were painted on canvas strips about four feet wide and hundreds of yards long. During exhibitions the canvas was unrolled from one upright roller and moved across the stage before the viewers to the other side, where it was taken up by another roller. The scenes depicted notable places and events, and as they moved past the illusion of reality was heightened by a colorful narration, skillful lighting, and the playing of appropriate music. These newsreel-travelogues were popular in this country and in Europe during the first half of the nineteenth century, and one, by John Banvard, was summoned for a command performance at Windsor.

The first chapter, perhaps the most interesting part of the book, summarizes the development of panorama display techniques, and indicates how spectacular they must have seemed in an age of limited visual experience. The next five chapters describe five great panoramas, each by a different artist, devoted to the portrayal of scenes and events along the Mississippi River and some of its tributaries.

The Mississippi panoramas are lost, but the search for information concerning them yielded accounts of the artists' experiences during

their preparation. These remarkable men traveled along the river, making sketches and gathering information for the narrations. Among the illustrations excellently reproduced in the book are such subjects as the Mormon Temple at Nauvoo, the burning of the steamer "Ben Sherrod," and the plantation of General Zachary Taylor. The disappearance of the panoramas is made doubly regrettable by the fact that the artists, painting the same scenes and competing directly with one another, apparently strove for accuracy in their work. Pictures of early settlements are sometimes as valuable in the reconstruction of landscapes as any map or written account.

Professor McDermott has used the pigments of his literary skill and the firm canvas of his research to paint for us an attractive view of an art form almost entirely forgotten. We are given engaging glimpses of life along the Mississippi, and are reminded of the extent to which we depend upon physical symbols in retaining the memory of a culture trait.

Northwestern State College

GEORGE A. STOKES

WHERE THE WORD ENDS, The Life of Louis Moreau Gottschalk.

By Vernon Loggins. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958. xii, 273 pp. Bibliographical note, index. \$3.95.)

Where the Word Ends is an appropriate title for this account of the life and artistic labors of Louis Moreau Gottschalk, Louisiana's greatest son in the field of music and "the first American to manifest a marked genius for playing the piano and for composing piano music." His musical compositions and his piano performances eloquently expressed the feelings of his soul—there the word ended as a descriptive factor. He was a romantic, who lived barely beyond the close of the South's romantic age; more accurately, perhaps, it could be said that he was of the same romantic Creole strain as Beauregard, both were first "gentlemen from New Orleans" and while the one battled with men the other engaged himself with piano notes on the concert stage. In an even broader sense, he was a romantic in the spirit of Byron and Shelley and Poe for he had keen wit coupled with an iconoclastic spirit, was an easy conversationalist, possessed considerable talent as a writer, and was a man of pity with a definite streak of quixotic altruism.

Born in New Orleans in 1829, by the time he was thirteen Gottschalk had mastered "all that could be taught about the art of piano

playing" by his local teachers. At the age of twenty-seven, he had completed his European education in piano and composition, had served his apprenticeship as a performing artist, and was acclaimed in France, Switzerland, and Spain as the peer of Franz Liszt and Frederic Chopin. The rest of his life (he died in Rio de Janeiro at the age of forty) was spent in North and South America in the desperate attempt to support a long list of relatives and hangers-on. He had long since learned, like Mozart and his father Leopold had learned, that in order to succeed as a performing artist in an immature and sometimes raw civilization one had to embody the potentialities of an impresario, composer, impeccable performer and showman, all in one person.

Author Vernon Loggins admirably succeeds in this portrayal of the life of Louis Moreau Gottschalk. The reader will enjoy the exploits and performing successes of the composer-performing artist in Europe, the West Indies, South America and the United States, in Paris, New York, Rio de Janeiro, and San Francisco. He will learn to understand how life affects a sensitive artist by living through that fateful day of February 24, 1848, in Paris, our own War between the States, and a typical western melodramatic experience in San Francisco. He will appreciate the success of Gottschalk's compositions, the thematic material which had come from the New Orleans Negro tunes which had engulfed his childhood. If the reader is interested in romance, life, music, New Orleans, or in America, he will be thoroughly pleased with this book.

Louisiana State University

LOUIS FERRARO

SO GREAT A GOOD, A History of the Episcopal Church in Louisiana and of Christ Church Cathedral, 1905-1955. By Hodding Carter and Betty W. Carter. (Sewanee, Tennessee, The University Press, 1955. 447 pp. Illustrations, appendix, index, \$5.00)

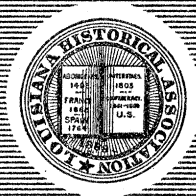
The Sesquicentennial of the Episcopal Church in Louisiana was celebrated in November, 1955, as the founding of Christ Church Cathedral in New Orleans and of the Diocese of Louisiana. *So Great A Good* was written as a part of this celebration although the diocese was not formally organized until 1838.

The distinguished journalist, Hodding Carter, of the Greenville (Miss.) *Delta Democrat*, and his wife share the authorship of this book. Mrs. Carter did the research in conjunction with a committee

FALL 1960
Vol. I, No. 4

LOUISIANA HISTORY

THE JOURNAL OF THE
LOUISIANA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION



THE LOUISIANA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

PRESIDENT

John S. Kyser, Northwestern State College

VICE-PRESIDENT

Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., Louisiana State University in New Orleans

SECRETARY-TREASURER

John C. L. Andreassen

EXECUTIVE-SECRETARY

Kenneth Trist Urquhart, St. Mary's Dominican College

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Walter M. Lowrey, Francis T. Nicholls State College

A. L. Tatum, Northeastern State College

Mattie Gray Brown, Byrd High School, Shreveport

Raleigh Suarez, McNeese State College

Garnie William McGinty, Louisiana Polytechnic Institute

Sidney J. Romero, Southeastern Louisiana College

Edwin Adams Davis, Louisiana State University

Margaret M. Bradbury, Hamilton Terrace Junior

High School, Shreveport

Robert L. Crisler, Southwestern Louisiana Institute

Charles L. Dufour, *New Orleans States & New Orleans Item*

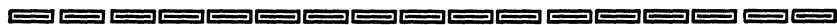
Kenneth Trist Urquhart, St. Mary's Dominican College

Colonel Henry B. Curtis, Washington Artillery, New Orleans

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

John S. Kyser, Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., John C. L. Andreassen,
Garnie W. McGinty, Charles L. Dufour

LOUISIANA HISTORY



Published quarterly by the
Louisiana Historical Association
in cooperation with
Louisiana State University



PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

Charles P. Roland, Tulane University
Raleigh A. Suarez, McNeese State College
Eugene P. Watson, Northwestern State College



MANAGING EDITOR

Edwin Adams Davis



ASSOCIATE EDITOR

A. Otis Hebert, Jr.



FALL 1960 • Volume I, No. 4

Louisiana History is distributed to members of the Louisiana Historical Association. Single copies, \$2.00. Membership in the Association: *Individual*—Student, \$2.00; Active, \$5.00; Family, \$6.00; Contributing, \$25.00; Sustaining, \$100.00; Life, \$1,000.00. *Associate Organizations*—Active, \$10.00; Sustaining, \$100.00; *Cooperating Agencies*—Active, \$10.00. *Contributing Corporations*—Active, \$25.00; Sustaining, \$500.00. Correspondence should be addressed to the Executive-Secretary, Memorial Hall, 929 Camp Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Permission is granted to reprint any article or other material, either in whole or in part, provided credit is given to *Louisiana History* (including date citation). The Louisiana Historical Association disclaims responsibility for statements whether of fact or of opinion made by contributors.

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be addressed to the Managing Editor, *Louisiana History*, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Louisiana History is published quarterly by the Louisiana Historical Association at Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Second-class postage paid at Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Contents

	PAGE
Gloom Envelops New Orleans, April 24 to May 2, 1862.....	281
By <i>James O. Lang</i>	
The Lafourche District in 1862: Confederate Revival....	300
By <i>Barnes F. Lathrop</i>	
Collections in the Archives Department of Howard- Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University....	320
By <i>Connie G. Griffith</i>	
Collections in the Department of Archives and Manu- scripts, Louisiana State University.....	328
By <i>V. L. Bedsole</i>	
A French Traveler's View of Ante-Bellum New Orleans.....	335
By <i>Henry Bertram Hill and Larry Gara</i>	
Vignettes	342
Notes and Comments.....	346
In Memoriam.....	350
Book Reviews.....	354
Appendix	365

Book Reviews:

	PAGE
Opatowsky, <i>The Longs of Louisiana</i> , by G. W. McGinty.....	354
Patrick, <i>The Fall of Richmond</i> , by E. Merton Coulter.....	355
Brunn, <i>The Story of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band</i> , by John A. Hunter.....	356
Cumming, <i>Kate: The Journal of a Confederate Nurse</i> , by John Duffy	359
Warner, <i>Generals in Gray: Lives of the Confederate Command- ers</i> , by O. E. Lovell, Jr.....	361

Appendix

Annual Message of Robert C. Wickliffe, Governor of the State of Louisiana, to the General Assembly (Courtesy of Louisiana Room, Louisiana State University Library)	365
Inaugural Address of Governor Thomas O. Moore, Delivered January 23, 1860, to the Legislature of the State of Louisiana (Courtesy of Louisiana Room, Louisiana State University Library)	380
Special Message of Thomas O. Moore, Governor of the State of Louisiana, to the General Assembly, December, 1860 (Courtesy of Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University)	386

Gloom Envelops New Orleans: *April 24 to May 2, 1862*

By JAMES O. LANG

who holds a master's degree from Louisiana
State University and teaches at Istrouma
High School.

" . . . A GLOOM has settled o'er my spirit, a gloom envelopes our dearly beloved city."¹ With these words school girl Clara Solomon aptly expressed the sentiments felt by a vast majority of the residents in New Orleans following the nine days of April 24 to May 2, 1862, for it was during those days that New Orleans fell to Flag Officer David G. Farragut and was occupied by Federal troops under Major-General Benjamin F. Butler.

For several months prior to April, 1862, the city had felt the effects of the Federal blockade, and by April 24, Fort St. Philip and Fort Jackson had been under attack for more than a week. Though concerned about the conditions below the city, the news that several Federal vessels had passed the forts came as a shock to a majority of the people, for the populace had been lulled into a feeling of false security. One correspondent, reporting the first attack on April 13, wrote, " . . . the, enemy, if he runs the gauntlet successfully, will have to make a better fight than we think he will or can." He continued, " . . . we believe them [the forts] to be abundantly sufficient for the work that lies before them."² Late in the evening of April 23, Brigadier-General Johnson K. Duncan, commander of Forts Jackson and St. Philip, re-

¹ Clara Solomon, Diary, May 4, 1862 (Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana).

² New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 15, 1862.

ported to Major-General Mansfield Lovell that the forts were holding their own and were likely to continue to do so.³ As a result of such assurances, only a small minority of the people realized how inadequate were the defenses of the city.

About two o'clock on the morning of April 24, the Federal fleet began an attempt to slip by the forts. When General Lovell, on an inspection trip downriver, saw that a number of the enemy vessels had succeeded in their mission, he realized that New Orleans was doomed. In an official report he stated, "I was well aware that my batteries of 32 pounders at the lower levees, manned by inexperienced troops, could not detain for any length of time the heavy ships of war of the enemy armed with 9 and 11 inch guns."⁴ Since the main defense force in the city consisted of only 3,000 militia armed with muskets and shotguns, no effective resistance could be offered.⁵ Lovell rushed back to New Orleans to order the removal of troops and supplies.⁶

As dawn came on Thursday, April 24, the residents of New Orleans began another day of a rather precarious existence. Food and supplies of all kinds were scarce and those available were sold at highly inflated prices; flour sold at twenty-five dollars a barrel, eggs at a dollar per dozen, and butter at a dollar a pound.⁷ There was some speculation, but the high prices were due to the law of supply and demand. The state of the cotton market showed how effectively New Orleans had been isolated. On April 24, the total amount of cotton in the warehouses numbered only 11,214 bales, and since September 1, 1861, less than 35,000 bales had been exported compared to 1,786,000 the preceding year.⁸

³ *Ibid.*, April 24, 1862.

⁴ Major-General Mansfield Lovell to Adjutant and Inspector-General S. Cooper, April 26, 1862, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (128 vols., Washington, 1880-1901) Series I, Vol. VI, 510-512. (Hereafter cited as *O.R.A.*).

⁵ Lovell to Cooper, May 22, 1862, *ibid.*, 513.

⁶ Lovell to Cooper, April 26, 1862, *ibid.*, 510-512.

⁷ Sarah Butler to Harriet Heard, May 2, 1862, Jessie Ames Marshall (ed.) *Private and Official Correspondence of General Benjamin F. Butler During the Period of the Civil War* (5 vols., Norwood, Mass., 1917), I, 436-440.

⁸ New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 26, 1862.

The character of the male population was even more indicative that New Orleans had been touched by war. With most of the best fighting material away in the armies of the Confederacy, the men remaining in the city consisted chiefly of old men and foreigners.⁹ Within the past few weeks all but one company of the regular Confederate troops in New Orleans had been sent to reinforce the army of Albert Sidney Johnston.¹⁰ Hundreds of these, wounded at Shiloh, now filled the hospitals and homes of the City.¹¹ Many were seriously wounded and some were dying; that morning at ten o'clock the Quitman Lodge planned to conduct Masonic rites for Captain John Knight of the Crescent Rifles who had died from wounds received at Shiloh.¹²

At mid morning the people were suddenly thrown into a panic, for news arrived that the Yankees had passed the forts and were on the way to New Orleans. The *Delta* issued an extra, and, ". . . like an electric shock, the news soon spread all over the city."¹³ Soon the general alarm, twelve distinct taps of the fire bell, rang out—the signal for the militia units to report to their respective assembly areas.¹⁴ Business activity came to a standstill, as most of the merchants closed their stores.¹⁵ Banks requested that depositors withdraw their "tin boxes" and valuables entrusted for safe keeping, and at noon, two of the banks declined to accept any more deposits and closed their doors.¹⁶ Confederate currency was in "a perfect state of chaos," and many people were discarding it.¹⁷ Rumor after rumor made the rounds, and each new one added to the confusion.¹⁸ Teachers dismissed the schools and sent the stu-

⁹ Testimony of Lt. Colonel E. F. Palfrey, June 9, 1863, Court of Inquiry, O.R.A., Series I, Vol. VI, 620.

¹⁰ Lovell to Cooper, May 22, 1862, *ibid.*, 512.

¹¹ New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 24, 1862.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ "Reminiscences of Wartimes," Anonymous Diary, April 25, 1862, *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XXIII (1895), 182-184. (Hereafter cited as Diary).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 25, 1862.

¹⁶ New Orleans *Crescent*, April 26, 1862.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 25, 1862.

dents home.¹⁹ Women began to collect the silverware, jewelry and firearms so they could be hidden from the enemy.²⁰ Others, left without male protection, went into town to seek advice from trusted friends, and entire families made ready to leave.²¹

As the hours passed, the crowds in the streets assumed the characteristics of a mob. A number of persons broke into the Marine Hospital, which had been converted into a small arms factory, and carried away guns, ammunition and everything else that could be removed.²² To help maintain order, the Board of Provost Marshals ordered all citizens not connected with the public service to retire to their homes by nine P.M.²³

Meanwhile General Lovell returned to New Orleans and issued orders for the removal of troops and equipment. Major S. L. James was ordered to detain all steamboats at the landing until they could be loaded with government stores, and during the day ordinance officers loaded large quantities of supplies.²⁴ Lovell sent orders to T. S. Williams, General Superintendent of the New Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern Railroad, to hold all trains in readiness for the removal of government property and troops and to allow no citizens or private property to be transported.²⁵ As soon as a boat or a train was loaded, it was sent north; the boats, in addition to freight, carried many passengers who were fleeing the city.²⁶

Much difficulty was encountered in getting transportation and labor to transport and load equipment. Many laborers re-

¹⁹ Clara Solomon, Diary, May 4, 1862.

²⁰ Florence Cooney Tompkins, "Women of the Sixties," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, II (1919), 282-285.

²¹ Clara Solomon, Diary, May 4, 1862.

²² Testimony of D. W. Briskell, April 17, 1863, Court of Inquiry, *O.R.A.*, Series I, Vol. VI, 576.

²³ New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 25, 1862.

²⁴ Testimony of Major S. L. James, April 11, 1863, Court of Inquiry, *O.R.A.*, Series I, Vol. VI, 568-569.

²⁵ Testimony of T. S. Williams, April 18, 1863, Court of Inquiry, *ibid.*, 579.

²⁶ Lovell to Cooper, April 26, 1862, *ibid.*, 510-511; Diary, April 25, 1862, *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XXIII (1895), 182-184.

fused to work, while other people refused to accept Confederate notes in payment for services or for property bought.²⁷ A provost marshal spent the entire day seizing enough wagons and teams to move the machinery of a small arms factory to the steamboat landing, but when an attempt was made to procure a boat it was found that several of the boats had been deserted by all crew members except the captains.²⁸

Before evacuating the city, Lovell made certain that the cotton on hand was destroyed. Teams and wagons were pressed into service to haul the cotton from the warehouses to the levee where it was put to the torch. Steamboats loaded with cotton were also burned. As the fires raged, “. . . the glare set men and women weeping and wailing.”²⁹ The total amount of cotton destroyed was estimated at 13,000 bales, and the market report for April 25, 1862, showed cotton on hand—“none.”³⁰

Late Thursday afternoon, Lovell took a belated step to resist the enemy. The Committee of Public Safety had offered rewards for the destruction of the enemy vessels by private enterprise: for a vessel larger than a gunboat, \$50,000.00; for a gunboat, \$25,000.00; and for every mortar boat, \$10,000.00.³¹ Several citizens informed Lovell that a large number of men could easily be assembled to board enemy vessels and carry them by assault. Although Lovell said such a plan was impractical, he agreed to authorize the attempt when urged to do so. He authorized Major James to seize all vessels not being used to haul government supplies. A call was made for 1,000 volunteers to man the boats, and the citizens promised to have the men at the landing by nine o'clock the following morning. During the night, Major James prepared the boats for the mission by having cotton bales sent down to protect them and

²⁷ Lovell to Cooper, April 26, 1862, *O.R.A.*, Series I, Vol. VI, 511.

²⁸ Testimony of F. W. Cooke, June 18, 1863, Court of Inquiry, *ibid.*, 634-635.

²⁹ George W. Cable, “New Orleans Before the Capture,” *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (4 vols., New York, 1887), II, 20.

³⁰ New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 26, 1862; New Orleans *Bee*, May 16, 1862.

³¹ New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 24, 1862.

molasses barrels placed in the hulls to keep them afloat in the event they were penetrated by shot. The next morning only one hundred forty men, under a Captain Dupiere, reported for the mission. Because the number was so few, Major James ordered Captain Dupiere and the men to take a train for Camp Moore.³²

During the night of April 24, the crowds ignored the plea to be home by nine o'clock. Many of them remained in the streets through the night watching the fires and contributing to the commotion. By morning, Friday, April 25, the people were frightened, sad, and angry; "We felt how cruelly we had been deceived," wrote Marion Southwood.³³ Part of the crowd, seeking to vent their anger, seized a man whose only crime was that "he looked like a stranger and might be a spy" and hanged him from a lamp post at the corner of Magazine and Common—luckily, a patrol of the European Brigade appeared in time to cut him down and save his life.³⁴

On the levee complete confusion and chaos prevailed. At the boat landings the military was still attempting to load equipment on the boats, and citizens were trying to engage passage. Elsewhere on the levee and around the warehouses, the mob—men, women and children, black and white—broke into the hogsheads and barrels and made off with sugar, molasses, bacon, rice, and corn. Individuals, claiming ownership of some of the property, tried to save their goods, but with little success. A man on horseback, dressed in Confederate uniform, encouraged and directed much of the mob's activity. He ordered a pile of corn burned in spite of the protests of a member of the Committee of Public Safety.³⁵ Great disorder prevailed until General Paul Juge, Jr., assumed command of the foreign brigades and

³² Lovell to Cooper, May 22, 1862, *O.R.A.*, Series I, Vol. VI, 515-516; Testimony of Major S. L. James, April 11, 1863, Court of Inquiry, *ibid.*, 568-569; New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 25, 1862.

³³ Marion Southwood, "Beauty and Booty:" *The Watchword of New Orleans* (New York, 1867), 19.

³⁴ Cable, *Battles and Leaders*, II, 20.

³⁵ Testimony of D. W. Briskell, April 17, 1863, Court of Inquiry, *O.R.A.*, Series I, Vol. VI, 576-577; Diary, April 25, 1862, *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XXIII (1895), 182-184.

received general authority from Mayor John T. Monroe to maintain order. Decisive action taken by the European Brigade under General Juge soon restored order on the levee.³⁶ Although the patrols of the European Brigade prevented wholesale looting of business houses, thefts occurred, and between twenty and thirty bundles of newsprint, belonging to the *Daily Picayune*, were taken from the warehouse of the Jackson Railroad.³⁷

Meanwhile military and naval officers set fire to the ships and boats that could not get away. After several half-hearted attempts to tow the unfinished ironclad *Mississippi* failed, it, too, was fired by the contractors. Seeing the *Mississippi* in flames deepened the gloom of the people. Clara Solomon exclaimed, "Oh! *never* shall I forget the 25th of Apr. 1862. Such expressions of woe as were on the faces of everyone, and such sadness as reigned in every heart."³⁸ Another witness, describing the burning cotton and ships, wrote, "It was a terribly magnificent spectacle." The witness continued, ". . . and it impressed me more strongly with an idea of warfare than all the fighting and slaughter I had ever seen."³⁹

The people were indignant over the burning of the *Mississippi*, and after setting fire to the ship, Nelson and Asa F. Tift, the contractors, fled up the river with some naval officers. On reaching Vicksburg they were seized by an angry mob and almost lynched. Inquiry by the naval officers revealed that the provost marshal at Vicksburg had received two telegrams from Pierre Soulé directing the arrest of the Tifts for burning the *Mississippi*. The men were released after the naval officers explained the situation at New Orleans.⁴⁰

³⁶ New Orleans *Bee*, April 26, 1862.

³⁷ New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 29, 1862.

³⁸ Clara Solomon, Diary, May 4, 1862.

³⁹ Madame Loreta Janeta Velasquez, *The Woman in Battle* (Hartford, Conn., 1876), 236.

⁴⁰ Testimony of Felix Senlac, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies* (30 vols., Washington, 1894-1922), Series II, Vol. I, 509. (Hereafter cited as O.R.N.) C. W. Read, "Reminiscences of the Confederate States Navy," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, I (1876), 347; James Morris Morgan, *Recollections of A Rebel Reefer* (Boston and New York, 1917), 76.

The evacuation of troops began during the morning of April 25, with most of them going to Camp Moore by trains of the Jackson Railroad. However, some confusion developed. At Chalmette the Twenty-sixth Louisiana Infantry was without its commanding officer. When the fleet began firing on the batteries, the officers of the regiment decided that each company commander should take his company out of the city the best way he could. The regiment marched through the city in good order until it reached Esplanade Street. There the head of the column received orders to march to the Jackson Railroad where cars would be waiting, but Captain Lewis Guion of Company D, at the rear of the column, never received the order. Following previous instructions, he marched his company to Carrollton and boarded a steamer which carried them to Donaldsonville. Several days later the company reached Camp Moore after an overland march from Baton Rouge.⁴¹ Captain Edward G. Butler, First Louisiana Artillery Regiment, marched his battery from Chalmette to headquarters in New Orleans but found no one there. He later wrote his mother, "I then went on to the R. R. and with about half of my Co. embarked for this place [Camp Moore]. The rest deserted or were too drunk to be able to walk and there was no earthly way of having them transported."⁴²

As the Federal fleet threaded its way through the burning ships, the crowds on the levee increased in size, and the defiant gestures and cheers for Jefferson Davis and the Confederacy showed plainly the welcome awaiting the invaders. Some armed members of the crowd fired on a small group which cheered the old flag and the Union.⁴³ Although the tone of the crowd was defiant, one of the witnesses was great-

⁴¹ Lewis Guion, Diary, April 25, 1862 (Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana); Winchester Hall, *The Story of the 26th Louisiana Infantry, in the Service of the Confederate States* (n.p., 1890?), 7.

⁴² Edward G. Butler to his mother, April 28, 1862, Thomas Butler and Family Papers, (Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana).

⁴³ David G. Farragut to John T. Monroe, April 26, 1862, printed in *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, April 27, 1862; James Parton, *General Butler in New Orleans* (New York, 1864), 69; *New Orleans Bee*, April 26, 1862.

ly impressed by the sight of the enemy vessels. Madame Velasquez, a secret agent for the Confederacy, recalled, "... when I saw these splendid vessels appearing off the levee I began to have a greater respect for the power of the Federal government than I had had before, and a greater appreciation of the weakness of the Confederacy."⁴⁴

By noon the fleet has anchored in the river, and shortly thereafter, Farragut sent Captain Theodorus Bailey and Lieutenant George Perkins ashore to demand the surrender of the city. As Bailey and Perkins walked toward City Hall, the mob swarmed around them brandishing cocked pistols and other weapons and yelling, "Shoot them! Kill them! Hang them!"⁴⁵ Bailey later reported that now and then, however, his sleeve would be pulled, his hand pressed, or he would hear a whisper, "Why didn't you come before?"⁴⁶ The Federal officers transmitted to Mayor Monroe Farragut's demands for the immediate surrender of the city, the raising of the United States flag over the Post Office, Custom-house, and the Mint, and the lowering of the Louisiana flag which flew over City Hall. Monroe pointed out that, as Lovell was in command of the city, he had no authority to surrender. When Lovell was called in, he refused to surrender the city or his forces, but stated that he was withdrawing his troops, and the city officials could act as they deemed proper.⁴⁷ The Federal officers considered Lovell extremely haughty. Referring to him in his official report, Farragut wrote, "His Lordship said he would surrender nothing, but at the same time he would retire and leave the mayor unembarrassed."⁴⁸ The question of surrender having been referred back to him, Monroe said that he would submit the matter to the members of the council and send a formal reply after receiving their advice. Upon obtaining this answer,

⁴⁴ Velasquez, *The Woman in Battle*, 233.

⁴⁵ Cable, *Battles and Leaders*, II, 21; *New York Daily Tribune*, May 10, 1862.

⁴⁶ *New York Daily Tribune*, *ibid.*

⁴⁷ *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, April 26, 1862.

⁴⁸ David G. Farragut to Assistant Secretary of War G. V. Fox, April 27, 1862, printed in Frank Moore (ed.) *The Rebellion Record* (12 vols., New York, 1861-1868), IV, 522-523.

Bailey and Perkins withdrew accompanied by an escort furnished by General Lovell.⁴⁹

At about ten o'clock on Saturday, April 26, Mayor Monroe met with members of the City Council and other leading citizens. He made an official report of his talk with Bailey and Perkins and read a letter, written for him by Pierre Soulé, answering the demands of Farragut. The letter pointed out the defenseless state of the city and said, "The city is yours by the power of brutal force, and not by any choice or consent of its inhabitants. It is for you to determine what shall be the fate that awaits her."⁵⁰ It further reiterated the refusal of the city to voluntarily lower the Confederate flags. The City Council approved the letter to Farragut and passed a resolution declaring that ". . . no resistance will be made to the United States."⁵¹

Before the Council had completed its deliberations, two more emissaries arrived with a letter from Farragut. At about ten-thirty several boats loaded with about twenty armed marines arrived at the wharf. A Lieutenant Birmingham of the Crescent Reserves informed Lieutenant Albert Kautz that the marines could not land. After some argument, the marines were left behind, and Birmingham escorted Kautz and Midshipman John H. Read through an angry crowd. Farragut's letter repeated the demands for the surrender of the city and the lowering of the flags. Again Monroe refused to yield. He was determined that New Orleans should not experience the humiliation of having to lower the flags.⁵²

While the negotiations were in progress, a mob swarmed around the City Hall, kicking at the doors and swearing they would hang Kautz and Read. Fearing for the safety of the Federal officers, Monroe and Soulé spoke to the crowd while

⁴⁹ Marion A. Baker, "Farragut's Demands for the Surrender of New Orleans," *Battles and Leaders*, II, 95.

⁵⁰ John T. Monroe to David G. Farragut, April 26, 1862, printed in New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 27, 1862.

⁵¹ New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, *ibid.*

⁵² Diary, April 26, 1862, *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XXIII (1895), 184.

the Mayor's secretary, Marion A. Baker, and two police officials escorted Kautz and Read out the back entrance where a closed carriage was waiting and drove them to the boat landing.⁵³

Although the rigid observance of military protocol occupied the attention of the Federal command and the city fathers, defiance was the watchword of the people. After a small detachment from the fleet had raised the United States flag over the Mint, a crowd led by William B. Mumford, Lieutenant N. Holmes, Sergeant Burns and James Reed cut down the flag. While Mumford was in the act of lowering the flag, the party was fired upon from the enemy vessels. There were two discharges—one of grape and one a shell from a small swivel gun—but, fortunately, there were no casualties from the shelling.⁵⁴ After the flag was lowered, it was dragged through the streets to the front of the City Hall and there torn into shreds.⁵⁵ General Butler, a few weeks later, hanged Mumford for his part in this incident.⁵⁶

No effort was spared to show contempt for the enemy. Eight men of the Pickwick Rangers, home from Shiloh, marched to the steamboat landing carrying a Confederate flag and playing the *Bonnie Blue Flag* and *Dixie* on a fife and drum. When sharpshooters in the rigging of the *Hartford* fired upon them, a stray bullet killed a spectator by the name of Brown. During the melee, a woman standing near by took the flag and waved it in the face of the enemy.⁵⁷

Monroe's defiance and Farragut's procrastination in occupying the city gave Confederate military officials additional time to remove government property and equipment. On the

⁵³ Albert Kautz, "Incidents of the Occupation of New Orleans," *Battles and Leaders*, II, 93; Baker, *ibid.*, 96-97; James Morris Morgan to Dr. M. L. Bonham, Jr., October 10, 1916 Historical Society of East and West Baton Rouge Records (Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana).

⁵⁴ New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 27, 1862.

⁵⁵ Diary, April 26, 1862, *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XXIII (1895), 185.

⁵⁶ New Orleans *Bee*, June 9, 1862.

⁵⁷ New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 27, 1862.

twenty-sixth Lovell ordered Major James to return to New Orleans and direct the further removal of equipment and supplies. Adequate railway facilities were provided, and for the next four days and nights James continued to collect and remove much Confederate, state, and private property that could be useful to the Confederacy. James received excellent cooperation in this endeavor. The Committee of Public Safety provided funds to hire wagons and drays, citizens pointed out private property that would be useful to the army, and mounted men covered the city collecting military supplies. The major requested that the mayor give him the arms of the European Brigade, but this request Monroe wisely refused. The amount of property and equipment removed required three or four trains a day for three weeks to later remove it from Camp Moore.⁵⁸

By late Saturday afternoon the crowds began to disperse for they were fatigued, many persons having been without sleep since rising on Thursday. For the first time in several days the papers reported, "New Orleans was very quiet during the night."⁵⁹

The next day, Sunday, the twenty-seventh, was relatively quiet. Negotiations came to a standstill, and rumors made the rounds that the fleet was out of ammunition.⁶⁰ Some apprehension began to appear in the fleet. Lieutenant Perkins wrote, "We may be in a bad fix now, if the forts do not fall, and it is not safe for anyone to leave our ships and go anywhere in a boat. Nothing is settled, and there is danger and risk about every movement."⁶¹ During the morning Farragut sent out a detachment to traverse and inspect the fortifications above the city and to cut the telegraph wires. Becoming thirsty, the party entered a tavern and ordered drinks, but fearful of poi-

⁵⁸ Testimony of S. L. James, April 11, 1863, Court of Inquiry, *O.R.A.*, Series I, Vol. VI, 568-569; Testimony of T. S. Williams, April 18, 1863, Court of Inquiry, *ibid.*, 579.

⁵⁹ *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, April 27, 1862.

⁶⁰ Edward G. Butler to his mother, April 28, 1862.

⁶¹ Letter of George H. Perkins, April 27, 1862, in George E. Belknap (ed.) *Letters of Capt. Geo. Hamilton Perkins* (Concord, New Hampshire, 1886), 70-71.

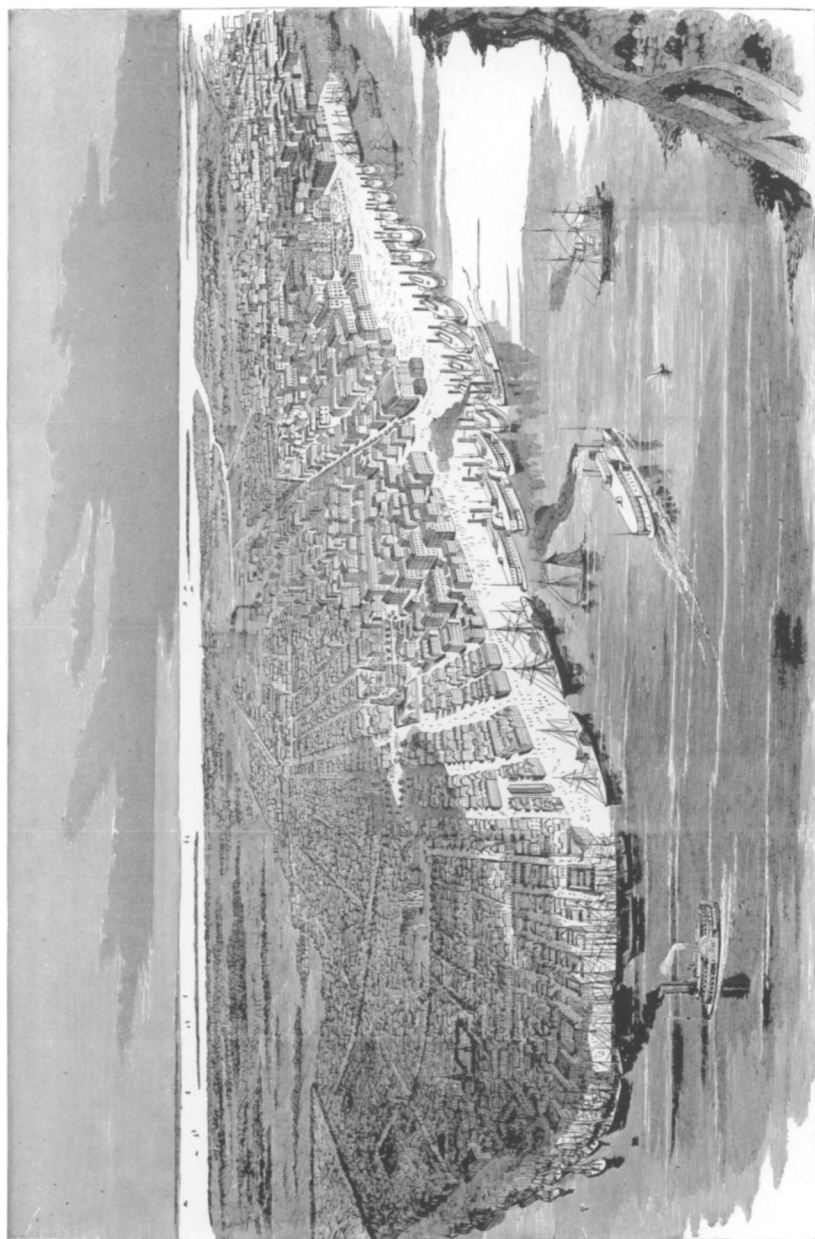


Fig. 31: *Harper's Pictorial History of the Civil War* (2 vols., [New York], 1894), I, 271.

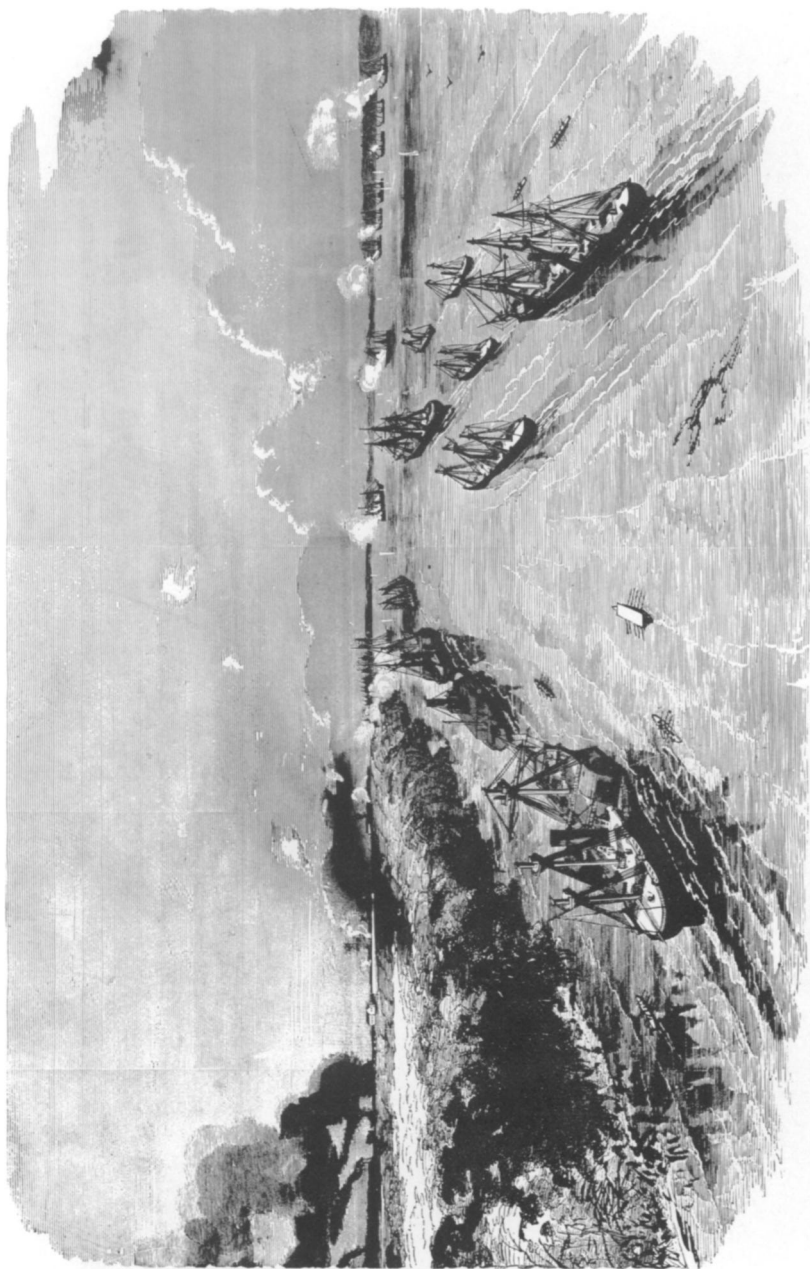


Fig. 32: Frank Leslie's Illustrated History of the Civil War (New York, 1895), 132

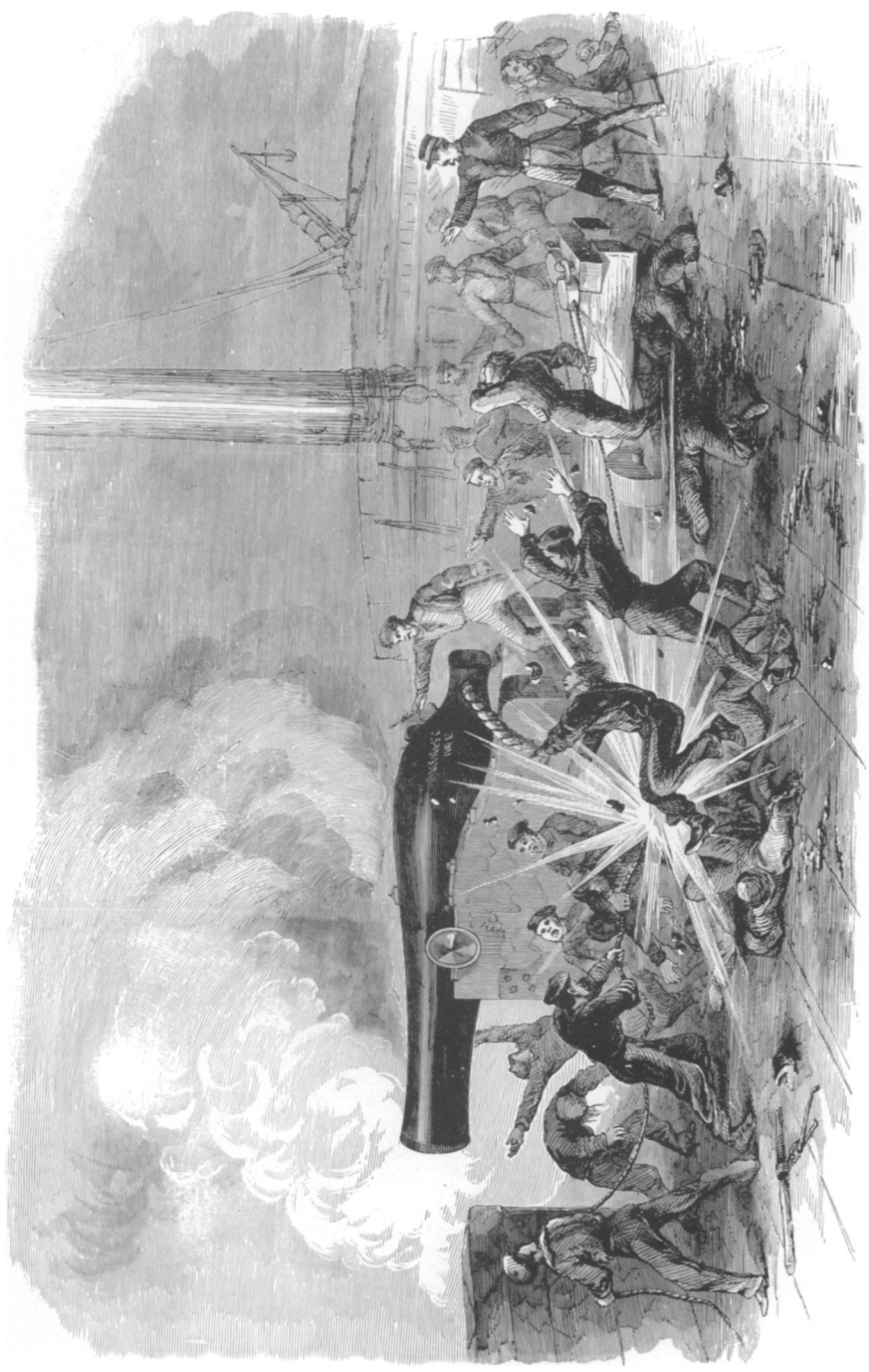


Fig. 33: *Ibid.*, 147



Fig. 34: *Ibid.*, 133



Fig. 35: *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (4 vols., New York, 1887), II, 40.

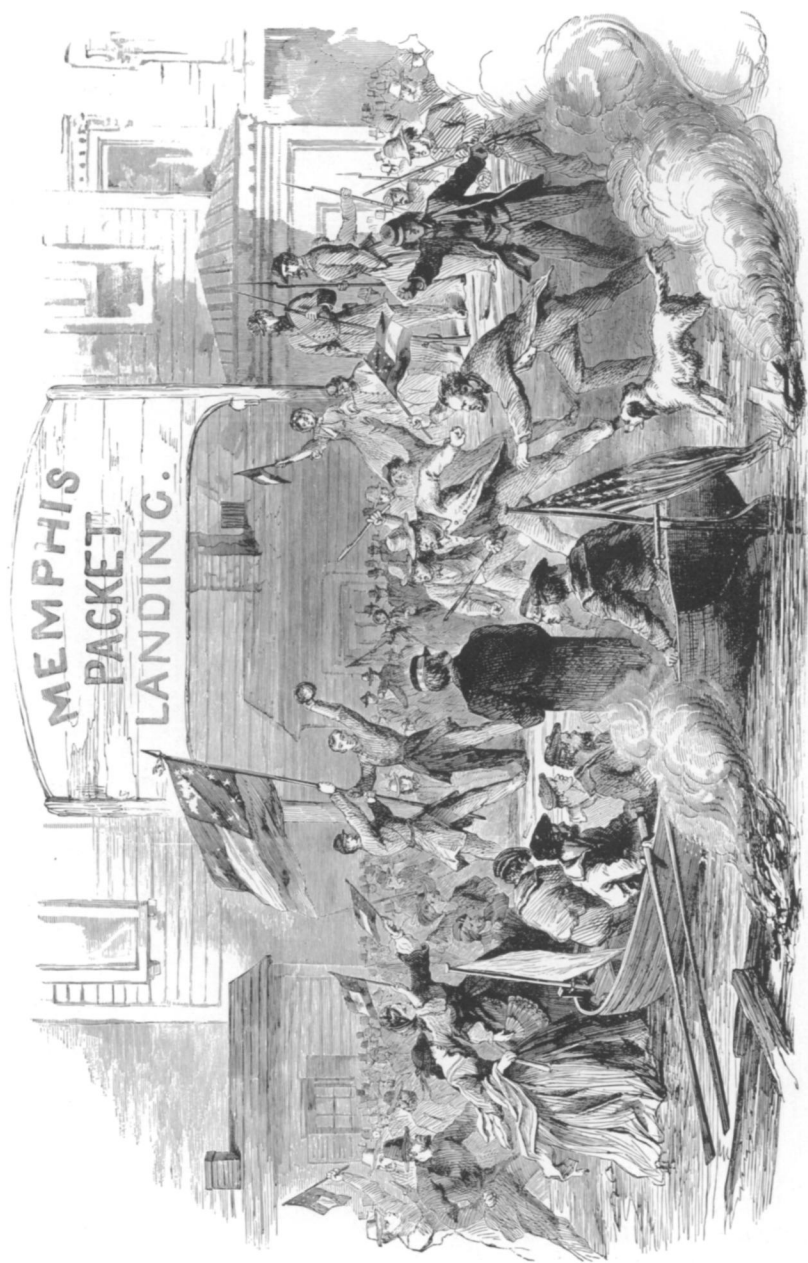


Fig. 36. *Frank Leslie's*, 129



Fig. 37: *Battles and Leaders*, II, 92.

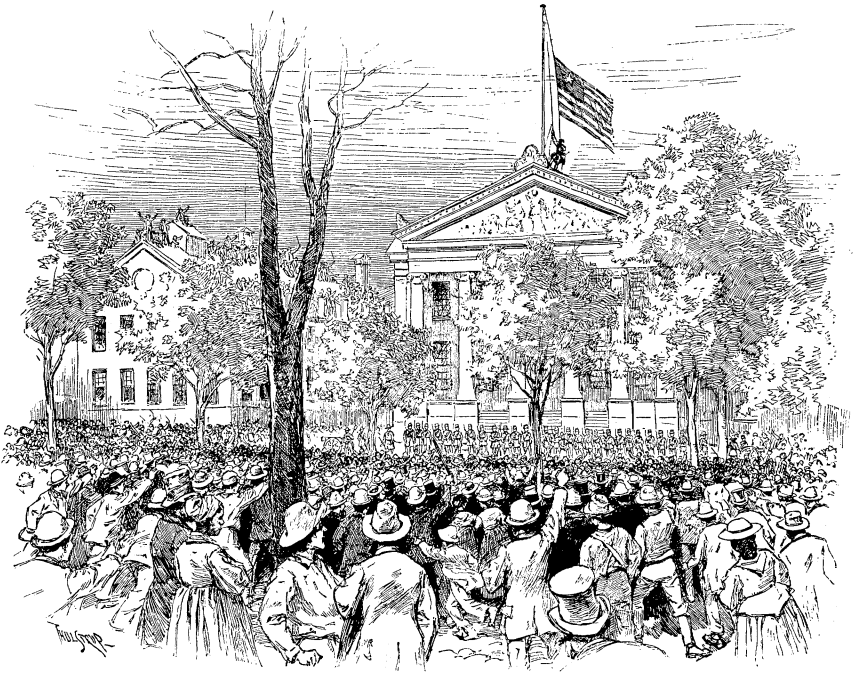


Fig. 38: *Ibid.*, 94

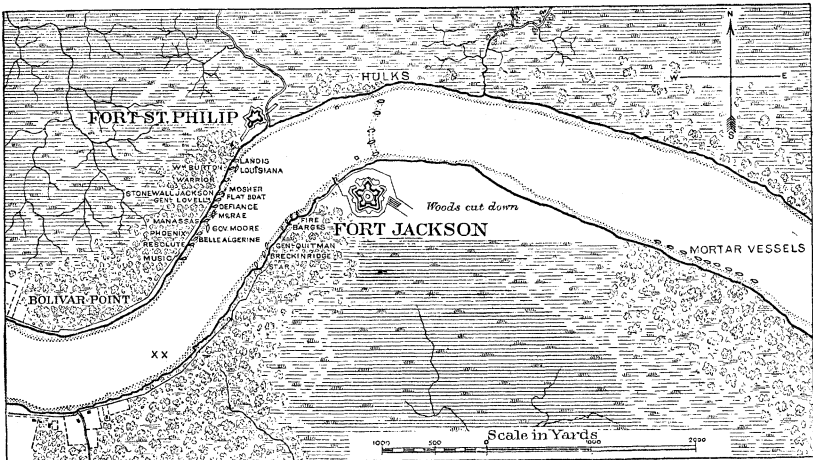


Fig. 39: *Ibid.*, 36

son, they forced the proprietor to first taste the drinks himself.⁶² In the evening some excitement developed at the livestock landing when it was reported that cattle were being slaughtered at night and delivered to the enemy vessels. However, no disturbance actually occurred as the Committee of Public Safety moved in quickly and put a stop to all provisioning of the enemy.⁶³

On Monday, April 28, crowds of people were on the levee and around City Hall from morning till night. Occasionally there were quick assemblings in other parts of the city whenever an exciting incident occurred. As nearly all the stores were still closed and provisioning the inhabitants had become a problem, people, in great numbers, continued to leave the city.⁶⁴

At mid-morning Farragut sent a "barbarous" note to Mayor Monroe, in which he regretted the determination of the city authorities not to remove the Louisiana flag and protested the conduct of the people in pulling down the flag of the United States and insulting Federal officers. He threatened to fire on the city if his demands were not met and gave forty-eight hours in which to remove the women and children.⁶⁵ In a letter replying to Farragut, Monroe severely condemned him. He pointed out that the act of raising the United States flag over the Mint while negotiations were still in progress was a flagrant violation of the courtesies and absolute rights that prevailed between belligerents under such conditions. He further pointed out the impossibility of evacuating the women and children and condemned Farragut for wishing to humiliate a defenseless city.⁶⁶

When news of Farragut's latest demands were known, the people became extremely angry. Within an hour or two a

⁶² New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 29, 1862.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ David G. Farragut to John T. Monroe, April 28, 1862, printed in New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 29, 1862.

⁶⁶ John T. Monroe to David G. Farragut, April 28, 1862, *ibid.*

large number of the leading ladies of the city signed a memorial to the City Council praying that body to persist in its determination not to lower the flag of Louisiana from City Hall.⁶⁷ Despite the bravado shown by the memorial, some women became frightened by Farragut's threat to fire on the city, Clara Solomon and her mother began preparations to leave if worse came to worst. Clara recorded in her diary, "Immediately we went to work and converted the raw materials into edibles. I had great hopes that the worst would not come to pass, but still we had to prepare for the emergency. We intended to take but a few clothes with us and were willing to make any sacrifice to behold our prided city reduced to ruins rather than it should fall into the hands of the barbarous invaders."⁶⁸

Furious over Farragut's demands, the people made quick reprisal for any show of sympathy for the enemy. Lewis Myers, charged with making signals to the enemy's vessels and saying he wished to surrender to them, was sent to the Parish prison for thirty days.⁶⁹ A Frenchman named Joseph Noel went on board the *Hartford* with the Federal emissaries and on returning to the landing at about five o'clock in the afternoon, was seized and severely beaten by a large crowd. Upon being rescued by the European Brigade, he was charged with being a spy and lodged in the First District Police Station near City Hall.⁷⁰

Late on the twenty-eighth Monroe received the following telegram from Jefferson Davis.

I deeply sympathize with your situation, and recognize with pride the patriotism of the citizens of New Orleans.

Your answer to Commander Farragut leaves to you all the chances and rights of war. General Duncan may prevent reinforcements to the enemy, and General Beauregard has been informed of your condition, and will aid you as he may.

My prayers are with you. There is no personal sacrifice I

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Clara Solomon, Diary, May 4, 1862.

⁶⁹ New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 29, 1862.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*; Diary, April 29, 1862, *Southern Historical Society Papers XXIII* (1895), 186.

would not willingly make for your defense. Maintain firmly the position you took in your reply, and let us hope for a successful issue.⁷¹

Davis' telegram did nothing for the morale of the city, for earlier in the day Forts Jackson and St. Philip had fallen.

The surrender of the forts decided the issue. Farragut felt that the navy should have the honor of taking formal possession of the city, and toward noon on Tuesday, April 29, a large detachment of sailors and marines under the command of Fleet Captain H. H. Bell came ashore. Supported by two howitzers, the detachment marched to the Custom-house and raised the United States flag over the building. Proceeding to the City Hall, the detachment deployed in front of the building, with each flank protected by a howitzer. While the sullen crowd was held at bay, several officers entered the building and announced that they had come to lower the flag of Louisiana. As Lieutenant Kautz mounted to the roof, Mayor Monroe descended the front steps, requested that the crowd remain quiet, and assumed a position in front of one of the howitzers. With tears in their eyes the people watched as the Federal officers came out of the building and, carrying the flag with them, marched away with the detachment. The secession flag of Louisiana—red, white, and blue striped, with a pale yellow star in the red union—had become a souvenir of the war.⁷²

During the evening of the twenty-ninth the City Council passed a resolution praising the work of the European Brigade, and to assist the Brigade in maintaining order, the Council authorized the recruiting of an auxiliary police force in each precinct to serve under the command of General Juge.⁷³

The next morning, Wednesday, April 30, Farragut sent a

⁷¹ Jefferson Davis to John T. Monroe, April 28, 1862, *O.R.A.*, Series I, Vol. VI, 884.

⁷² Kautz, *Battles and Leaders*, II, 93-94; 97; Clara Solomon, *Diary*, May 4, 1862; Captain John L. Broome to Colonel John Harris, Commandant of U. S. Marine Corps., November 17, 1862, *O.R.N.*, Series 1, Vol. XVIII 236-237.

⁷³ New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 30, 1862.

reply to Monroe's letter of the twenty-eighth. Farragut considered Monroe's letter ". . . so offensive that it will terminate our intercourse; and as soon as General Butler arrives with his forces, I shall turn over the charge of the city to him and assume my naval duties."⁷⁴

As the month of April came to a close, it had been exactly seven days since the fleet had passed the forts. A fitting epitaph for that memorable and tragic week is provided by the words of Thomas K. Wharton: "The month closes with the deplorable fact that our city has been abandoned by the Governor, Gen. Lovell and all his forces and all our government officers. We are now in the hands of Federal troops, with a large fleet of square rigged ships and gunboats in the River. Mayor Monroe has behaved most nobly throughout."⁷⁵

On Thursday, May 1, transports loaded with Federal troops under the command of General Benjamin F. Butler arrived before the city. The Twenty-first Indiana landed at Algiers where the regiment seized the terminal and all the rolling stock of the New Orleans and Opelousas Railroad. About seven o'clock in the evening the remainder of the troops—the Thirtieth and Thirty-first Massachusetts, Fourth Wisconsin, Sixth Michigan and the Ninth and Twelfth Connecticut, supported by three artillery units and two companies of cavalry—disembarked. With a band playing, the troops formed on the levee and marched down Poydras, St. Charles, and Canal streets. They were posted and quartered at the Custom-house, the City Hall, the Mint, and in Lafayette Square.⁷⁶ Although the demeanor of the crowd as a whole was mild, the people surged along the pavement seeking a glimpse of General Butler and crying out, "Where is the d--d rascal? Go home d--d

⁷⁴ David G. Farragut to John T. Monroe, April 30, 1862, printed in Charles B. Boynton, *The History of the Navy During the Civil War* (2 vols., New York, 1868), II, 196.

⁷⁵ Thomas K. Wharton, Diary, April 30, 1862 (Microfilm, Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana).

⁷⁶ Major-General Benjamin F. Butler to the Secretary of War, May 8, 1862, O.R.A., Series I, Vol. VI, 506-508; New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, May 2, 1862.

Yankees. I see the d--d old villain.”⁷⁷ Referring to the reception received by the troops, a Union soldier reported that the only smile that greeted them was on the iron features of the Henry Clay Monument.⁷⁸ Having posted his troops, Butler seized the St. Charles Hotel as his headquarters and installed a company of the Thirty-first Massachusetts as the headquarters guard.⁷⁹

The evening of May 1, was quiet, and, even though embittered crowds roamed the streets, no major incidents were reported. Brigadier-General John W. Phelps, who strolled about the city alone, reported that he was treated with civility by all to whom he had spoken.⁸⁰ However, few citizens cooperated voluntarily with the Federals. When two of Butler’s staff officers went to the office of the *True Delta* to have Butler’s official proclamation printed, the employees refused to print it without an order from the proprietor. The next morning, with the refusal of the proprietor to print the proclamation, Butler issued a general order suspending the operation of the *True Delta*, and a squad of soldiers took over the plant to print the document.⁸¹ That same morning, May 2, some Federal officers sought to purchase maps of the Mississippi River at the bookstore of Thomas T. White on Canal Street, but White refused to sell the maps. A short time later the officers returned with re-enforcements only to find that the maps had been burned.⁸²

While the troops were solidifying their hold on the city, Butler requested that Mayor Monroe, General Juge and other city officials meet with him at the St. Charles Hotel. At two

⁷⁷ James Parton, *General Butler in New Orleans*, 281.

⁷⁸ George G. Smith, *Leaves From A Soldiers Diary* (Putnam, Conn., 1906), 21

⁷⁹ Benjamin F. Butler, *Autobiography and Personal Reminiscences of Major-General Benjamin F. Butler; Butler’s Book* (Boston, 1892), 374. (Hereafter cited as *Butler’s Book*).

⁸⁰ Elizabeth Joan Doyle, “Civilian Life in Occupied New Orleans, 1862-1865 (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1955), 4.

⁸¹ *Butler’s Book*, 377.

⁸² Diary, May 3, 1862, *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XXIII (1895), 187-188.

o'clock on the afternoon of May 2, the conference was held in the heavily guarded headquarters. Butler read his proclamation to the city officials, requested their cooperation, and stated that he would not interfere with the operation of the city government or the policing of the city except for the few areas covered in the proclamation.⁸³ Though the proclamation was firm, it was not unduly harsh, but for the people of New Orleans it served as the official notice that they were now living under military occupation.

The capture and occupation of New Orleans gave the North cause for celebration. The *New York Times* stated, "The seizure of this, the greatest city of the Jeff. Davis Confederacy, will be a terrible disheartenment for the rebels, and is in itself almost the equivalent to a defeat of Beauregard's army at Corinth." The same issue reported that the city of Washington "is wild with rejoicing" over the fall of New Orleans.⁸⁴ But in contrast to the happiness in the North, the South was crestfallen. In Virginia a Norfolk newspaper had this to say, "It is by far the most serious reverse of the war. It suggests future privation to all classes of society, but most lamented of all, it threatens our army supplies."⁸⁵

Though deeply shocked, some Louisianans were outspoken in their criticism of the inadequate defense of the city. Julia Legrand wrote:

In the first place, Lovell, a most worthless creature, was sent here by Davis to superintend the defense of the city. He did little or nothing and the little he did was all wrong. Behold what has now come to the city! Never can I forget the day that alarm bell rang. I never felt so hopeless and forsaken. The wretched generals, left here with our troops, ran away and left them. Lovell knew not what to do; some say he was intoxicated, some say frightened.⁸⁶

⁸³ New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, May 3, 1862; *Butler's Book*, 374-377.

⁸⁴ *New York Times*, April 28, 1862.

⁸⁵ Norfolk *Day Book*, quoted by New York *Daily Tribune*, May 1, 1862.

⁸⁶ Kate Mason Rowland and Mrs. Morris L. Croxall, *The Journal of Julia Legrand, New Orleans 1862-63*, May 9, 1862 (Richmond, Virginia, 1911), 39.

A more thoughtful, and probably a more accurate, criticism is given by Ed. G. Randolph of Bossier Parish who stated:

You will know that I am not disposed to rashly criticize or censure the acts of our leaders—because we cannot always know or be informed of the facts or true situation but it does seem to me that there was a screw loose somewhere. We should have had one of our very best soldiers commanding at a port of so much importance as that of New Orleans and vicinity. New Orleans was of first importance and ought to have been held at all hazards it would have been better far better to have given up Charleston, Savannah and also Mobile. Concentrating the forces and munitions for the safety of New Orleans. But Alas why talk of it now. Surely there must have been teachery somewhere.⁸⁷

In an effort to clear himself of any blame for the fall of New Orleans, General Lovell demanded and Jefferson Davis ordered a military court of inquiry. The Confederate Navy conducted a similar effort to place the responsibility for the debacle, but neither investigation brought forth any conclusive answers to a question still in debate. Regardless of where the responsibility lay for the fall of the city, the conquest of New Orleans marked a major milestone in the Union's plan to gain control of the Mississippi River, but for her inhabitants the tragic days, April 24 to May 2, 1862, had inaugurated an era of despondency and heartache never to be forgotten.

⁸⁷ Ed. G. Randolph to Captain David F. Boyd, June 1, 1862, David Boyd and Family Papers (Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana).

The Lafourche District in 1862: Confederate Revival

By BARNES F. LATHROP

Professor of History,
the University of Texas.

FEDERAL CAPTURE OF New Orleans in the spring of 1862 imperiled the Confederate hold upon the sugar parishes of southern Louisiana. One area immediately affected was the district southwest of the Mississippi River centering around Bayou Lafourche and containing the three parishes of Assumption, Lafourche, and Terrebonne. During May, 1862, Federal troops freely entered both Lafourche and Terrebonne by means of New Orleans, Opelousas and Great Western Railroad, an eighty-mile line commencing at Algiers opposite New Orleans, coming into the Lafourche district at Bayou des Allemands, running across it to Brashear City on the Atchafalaya. The Federal incursions encountered scarcely a hint of resistance. This passivity prevailed partly because the Lafourche district, a black-belt area of large plantations set amidst a sturdy Creole population, had opposed secession and tended to lag in war spirit; partly because the sudden fall of New Orleans had stunned the people and drawn off the small Confederate garrisons; and partly because a purely local resistance seemed likely not only to fail but also to provoke brutal retaliation from the Federal commander at New Orleans, Major-General Benjamin F. Butler.

By June, 1862, the Louisiana state government, in exile at Opelousas, managed to send into the Lafourche small forces from Bayou Teche on temporary missions intended both to stop enemy forays and to rally the militia to the defense of the district. Blocking the railroad and inducing the Federals

to draw back to Des Allemands proved easy; but the militia in much of the Lafourche district and in the adjoining River parishes deemed themselves still in no position to come out for active service. Hoping to restore their confidence in the Confederate cause, Governor Thomas O. Moore then ordered into the area a company of partisan rangers under Captain James A. McWaters to be followed by a second company under Captain S. D. Ashe. McWaters, the senior captain, was instructed to suppress disloyalty and to break up traffic with New Orleans; he was also expected to harass the enemy as opportunity offered. His orders did not subordinate him to Brigadier-General R. C. Martin of Albemarle Plantation, Assumption Parish, within whose Fifth Militia Brigade he would operate.

Soon after his arrival within Martin's command McWaters commenced the dangerous sport of shooting at Federal vessels as they passed up and down the Mississippi River. The site of the firing was Donaldsonville, parish seat of Ascension Parish, located in the fork where Bayou Lafourche left the River. On July 22, 1862, the Federals threatened to shell the town in reprisal.¹ Four days later the mayor of Donaldsonville asked McWaters to desist from firing upon the vessels. McWaters agreed to stop the attacks pending word from headquarters "and should notify him the conclusion of the Govr . . ."² Governor Moore was in Thibodaux July 30 and requested a conference with Martin next day.³ McWaters also must have seen Moore, and Moore must have overruled the objections—which Martin undoubtedly shared—to further artillery sniping at Federal river boats. Welman F. Pugh, aged fifteen, son of Colonel W. W. Pugh of Woodlawn Plantation, recorded August 2 that he, his younger brother, and a

¹W. F. Pugh "Journal," 16, July 22, 1862, W. W. Pugh Papers (Archives Collection, The Library of the University of Texas). (Hereinafter cited as "Journal".)

²Captain J. A. McWaters to Brigadier-General R. C. Martin, July 27, 1862, R. C. Martin Papers (in private possession).

³M. Grivot, Adjutant and Inspector General, Louisiana Militia, Thibodaux, Louisiana, to Martin, July 30, 1862, Martin Papers.

friend "went to Donaldson had a grand time." Welman sold a pig for \$5 silver, and the town "was threatened to be shelled by the Yankees."⁴ The threat Welman reported may have been a terse message from Flag-Officer D. G. Farragut "To the People of Donaldsonville": "Every time my boats are fired upon I will burn a portion of your town."⁵ Despite the repeated warnings, Federal transports were fired upon August 6 and 7. Farragut's patience was out. Having given notice for the evacuation of women and children, he ordered August 9 a bombardment of the town and the landing of a party that burned down, according to his report, "the hotels and wharf buildings" in Donaldsonville and the buildings on an adjacent sugar plantation. Other descriptions indicated that the damage was much heavier than Farragut made it sound.⁶

⁴"Journal," 17

⁵U. S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (70 vols. in 128, Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. XV, 796; (Hereinafter cited as *Official Records*); U. S. Navy Department, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (30 vols. and index, Washington, 1894-1927), Ser. I, Vol. XIX, 143. (Hereinafter cited as *Official Records . . . Navies*.)

⁶New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, August 12, 1862, quoting New Orleans *Delta*, August 11; *Official Records . . . Navies*, Ser. I, Vol. XIX, 140-141, 707, 719, 721. A local committee said August 11 that "the most valuable portion of the town" had been consumed. *Ibid.*, 142; *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 795. Alexander Franklin Pugh, who was not an eyewitness, living on Bayou Lafourche nineteen miles below Donaldsonville, noted the burning of "a part" of the town. Alexander Franklin Pugh, *Diary*, August 9, 1862 (Department of Archives, Louisiana State University). Captain John W. De Forest, Twelfth Connecticut Volunteers, who was at Donaldsonville in October, 1862, described the place as "in ruins, shattered by shells and half burned." "The First Time Under Fire," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XXIX (September, 1864), 476. Additional evidence concerning the extent of the destruction, mainly from other Federal soldiers, is abundant but as a rule extremely vague. Compare the personal narratives or regimental histories by Harris H. Beecher (1866), Orton S. Clark (1868), Henry and James Hall (1873), George H. Hepworth (1864), Henry T. Johns (1864), Albert O. Marshall (1863), John F. Moors (1893), Elias P. Pellet (1866), Albert Plummer (1907), George Gilbert Smith (1906), Homer B. Sprague (1867), and Lawrence Van Alstyne (1910). The damage came to be much exaggerated. See, for example, the quotation from a Massachusetts newspaper in Jefferson Davis Bragg, *Louisiana in the Confederacy* (Baton Rouge, [c. 1941]), 159, and the account in Sidney A. Marchand, *The Story of Ascension Parish* (Donaldsonville, [c. 1931]), 63, based upon the reminiscences of an eyewitness. General Butler expressed his regret for and endeavored to make good the indirect loss that the bombardment

The partial destruction of Donaldsonville was a precise fulfillment of what the people of the River and the upper Bayou had expected to follow upon pinprick annoyances to the Yankees. It produced an excitement compounded of suffering, fear, hatred of the enemy, and indignation at the futile sacrifice required by Moore's policy. Welman F. Pugh's "Journal" for the day of the bombardment stated enigmatically that he "Rode 50 miles on horseback at night." Welman's mother, Josephine Nicholls Pugh, daughter of a leading Donaldsonville family, sheltered her aunt and perhaps other refugees at Woodlawn Plantation. A meeting of citizens of Ascension and St. James, August 11, 1862, resolved to send a committee to Governor Moore to induce him to stop the molestation of enemy boats. The recorded participants in the meeting were among the most prominent citizens in the two parishes, e. g., A. B. Roman, former governor, Trasimond Landry, former lieutenant-governor and colonel of the Ascension militia, J. Aristide Landry, former congressman, A. Duffel, associate justice of the Louisiana Supreme Court, and J. K. Gaudet, colonel of the St. James militia. They argued that the attacks could produce no benefits to the Confederate cause that "would justify the jeopardizing the lives and the total destruction of the property of our own people and the demoralizing of our servile population, a result which they consider inevitable if that course be persisted in."⁷

Josephine Pugh, mistress of Woodlawn, was moved to write against Yankee behavior an impassioned protest intended for the Northern press.⁸ She admitted that the people of Donaldsonville had not "discountenanced" firing upon the Federal

inflicted upon a female asylum conducted by the Sisters of Charity. *Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler during the Period of the Civil War* (5 vols., [Norwood, Mass.], 1917), II, 213-215. (Hereinafter cited as *Butler Correspondence*).

⁷*Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 795-796.

⁸Foolscap manuscript of five and one-half pages in Mrs. Pugh's hand, entitled "Vandalism—Aged Sister of R. Drake," addressed to "my Northern Readers." There are two copies, one a draft and one relatively clean, in W. W. Pugh Papers. "Vandalism" was probably written during the war but some little time after the bombardment.

vessels. They were, she said, "interested Spectators," but not "abettors of the act." After the bombardment and burning

doors were thrown wide to admit all comers, every possible provision made for accommodation: all efforts barely sufficed; each tenement however old was crowded; different families were huddled together, others broken & scattered to suit the convenience of hosts— One large family, composed almost entirely of females, reared with all the comforts, & many of the elegancies of life, were constrained to take refuge in a flat-boat In the flight of Negroes that took place on the arrival of the Federals their Slaves had also escaped. They, never having been accustomed to menial work were in great distress. One of the young ladies, resolved to lay aside her pride & make an appeal to the Federal Officer. She represented to him that her Father was an old man, with a numerous family, all daughters, none able to assist him: that he had purchased these slaves with the hard-earned wages of industry, & besought that *one* at least might be returned to cook & perform the labour for which their previous habits had unfitted them. Looking her insolently in the face, he inquired her age & jeeringly replied 'You are now old enough to begin to work for yourself' At the very time we are taunted with dependence upon domestics, which the practice of our lives has made natural, . . . [these officers] appropriate our servants (whom we have at least paid for) to their own use Surely an officer could as well dispense with his groom or valet as a feeble woman with her laundress or maid of all work.

The principal theme of Mrs. Pugh's protest was the treatment accorded her aunt, Miss M. A. Drake, only surviving sister of Joseph Rodman Drake. Miss Drake, a woman of seventy, born in New York, had remained loyal to her native state.⁹ "In the bitterness of her feelings [at secession], she called herself a foreigner, an exile amongst us, *here!* where existed her nearest & dearest ties: she looked upon the Confederate Flag with abhorrence—" What reward her loyalty received! All of the houses adjacent to hers were burned, though

⁹Miss Drake's age is elusive: seventy in 1862 according to Mrs. Pugh, fifty in 1850 and sixty-four in 1860 according to the manuscript returns of the United States Censuses.

hers escaped, and she was forced to take refuge at Woodlawn. When she returned home she found her sacked house occupied by Negroes, with the corpse of a Negro man in the attic. The provost-marshal demanded, before he would clear her house, that she take the oath of allegiance. Even Miss Drake's loyalty could not bear all this. Her love for the Union was dead. "Can you marvel at her change of feeling? Could affection survive such trials?" How were Northern admirers of Drake able to wax indignant over the "imaginary insult" offered by a Southern woman in New Orleans to the funeral of Drake's grandson, young Lieutenant George DeKay, while Drake's own sister was treated thus?¹⁰

The bombardment of Donaldsonville was followed at once by drastic action on the part of Brigadier-General Martin, Fifth Brigade Louisiana Militia, against the partisan commander, Captain McWaters. Only five days before, McWaters had written Martin a respectful letter giving items of current news and asking for "a *safe* man" to go within the Federal lines to purchase ammunition at New Orleans. McWaters might be obliged, he said, "to press a few horses" on the River, but he would "give parties orders on the Government for pay & will as I have done avoid any thing of the kind whenever possible."¹¹ Here, perhaps, was a hint that McWaters and Martin differed over impressment. Almost certainly Martin had disapproved the provocative firing upon Federal vessels and resented the presence within the limits of his brigade of a mission not under his control. Whatever his exact feelings, he issued the day after Farragut's retaliation against Donaldsonville a general order declaring that the coming into his command of partisan corps "under special orders to act inde-

¹⁰Mrs. Philip Phillips, wife of a former United States Congressman from Alabama, was sent to Ship Island by General Butler for allegedly "laughing and mocking" from the balcony of her house at the passing funeral procession of DeKay. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 510-511; James Parton, *General Butler in New Orleans*... (4th ed., New York, 1864), 438-442; Howard Palmer Johnson, "New Orleans under General Butler," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXIV (April, 1941), 493-494.

¹¹McWaters to Martin or Colonel W. W. Pugh, August 5, 1862, Martin Papers.

pendently" was "alike illegal, irregular, and derogatory" to him and to the officers of his brigade, and would "no longer be tolerated." Partisan commanders already present must show their orders and act thereafter only in obedience to Martin. Militia provost-marshals would procure the arrest of all persons, whether military or civilian, who impressed livestock, provisions, or "plantation outfits" without Martin's written authorization.¹²

On the next day McWaters acknowledged receipt of Martin's orders. He understood that the force of Martin's brigade would be employed to resist any further attempt of his to execute the orders of Governor Moore. To avoid "bloodshed and ill feeling" between his command and the inhabitants of Martin's district, and "any appearance of causing strife and bitterness . . . among our own people," he agreed to Martin's requirements and reported himself accordingly.¹³

Before news of Martin's general order against McWaters reached Opelousas, Governor Moore had instructed Martin to place the militia of his brigade in active service, having them report "with such arms as they may possess" to Colonel Thomas E. Vick, commander of the militia camp in Lafourche Parish.¹⁴ This order, wrote the Adjutant General, was

¹²General Order No. 8 (Martin by R. C. Martin, Jr., A.D.C.), Headquarters Fifth Brigade Louisiana Militia, August 10, 1862, printed copy in Martin Papers. The Martin Papers contain also two copies each of special orders by Martin directing the arrest of McWaters and of Ashe. They are all dated August 11, 1862, but are not numbered and were evidently never issued.

¹³McWaters and Ashe (written by McWaters), Napoleonville, Louisiana, to Martin, August 11, 1862, Martin Papers. McWaters enclosed copies of his orders and instructions (in all six documents) and Ashe's as well (four documents).

¹⁴Special Orders No. 200 (Major-General John L. Lewis, commanding Louisiana Militia, by G. W. Lewis, A.D.C., to Martin), Headquarters Louisiana Troops, Major-General's Office, Opelousas, Louisiana, August 12, 1862, embodying Orders No. 811 (Moore by M. Grivot, Adjutant and Inspector General), Headquarters Louisiana Militia, Adjutant General's Office, Opelousas, Louisiana, August 12, 1862; No. 200 only is in Martin Papers. The parishes named in order were Assumption, Ascension, St. James, St. John the Baptist, and St. Charles. The militia of Lafourche Parish had already been called out. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 767.

to be carried out as secretly & as silently as possible — The object, is to effect an attack upon the enemy [post at the railroad station] on the Bayou des Allemands and drive him from his Position, which can be carried out fully— The Governor directs me to say that he expects you to put it in force immediately[.]¹⁵

Martin complied by issuing to his regimental commanders a special order dated August 15, 1862. This drew from Colonel J. K. Gaudet of St. James a reassertion of the position he had taken in response to an earlier attempt to call out the militia.¹⁶

I deem any move of this kind as *utterly impracticable in the Parishes bordering on the Mississippi River*. The secret cannot be kept, and as soon as intelligence of it will reach the City, the ennemy [*sic*] will take effectual measures to prevent it.

Even the organization must be attended to with “the greatest secrecy,” and secrecy was a vain hope. Under existing circumstances “*our militia cannot possibly be placed in active service.*”¹⁷

Martin’s order against McWaters had meanwhile reached Opelousas, where it produced the effect that Martin must have foreseen. Moore declared it

revoked, as being highly disrespectful to the Governor and commander-in-chief, unwarranted, unnecessary, and in contravention to military rule and discipline and to orders before issued from these headquarters, of which Brigadier-General Martin has been informed.

Martin was ordered under arrest “to await a trial by court martial.”¹⁸ He promptly asked for a court of inquiry into

¹⁵Grivot, Opelousas to Martin, August 12, 1862, Martin Papers.

¹⁶See Barnes F. Lathrop, “The Lafourche District in 1862: Militia and Partisan Rangers,” *Louisiana History*, I, (Summer, 1960), 234-235.

¹⁷Gaudet to Martin, August 18, 1862, Martin Papers.

¹⁸Orders No. 812 (Moore), August 14, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 798.

his whole conduct as brigadier. This request was denied on the ground that he had been arrested not for failure to carry out "the duties assigned you, by the several orders for the calling out of the Militia of your Brigade," but solely because his General Order No. 8 was "derogatory and disrespectful" to the Governor's authority. Not until mid-October was Martin able to announce his relief from arrest and resumption of command.¹⁹

On the day that Martin was ordered under arrest the commander of the Louisiana militia, Major-General John L. Lewis (b. 1800), was directed to proceed to Thibodaux, to "take charge of the defenses of the Fifth and Ninth Brigades," and to "cause all the Militia in the Fifth Brigade to be placed in actual service and sent to Camp Martin" in Lafourche Parish.²⁰ Lewis duly established himself at Thibodaux, whence he issued a rhetorical exhortation to "every man within the 5th Brigade, able to bear arms," whether subject to militia duty or not, to prepare "to defend to the very last their liberties, their families and their homes."²¹ The militia of Lafourche and Terrebonne Parishes had apparently been in camp for several weeks before Lewis's arrival. The militia of the River parishes were in no position to make any considerable response. The Assumption militia went into camp August 20, 1862.²²

During the summer and autumn of 1862 the pinch of war on daily life began to be strongly felt. Separation from New Orleans increased deprivations which blockade and severance from the North had commenced. The presence of troops along the Bayou, even in modest numbers, and the calling out of

¹⁹Martin, Brigadier-General under arrest, Albermarle, Louisiana, to Major-General Lewis, August 16, 17, 1862; Grivot, Opelousas to Martin, August 23, 1862; unnumbered order by Martin as Brigadier-General Commanding, Headquarters Fifth Brigade Louisiana Militia, Albermarle, October 14, 1862. All four documents are in Martin Papers; the letters to Lewis are retained copies.

²⁰Orders No. 814 (Moore), August 14, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 798-799.

²¹General Orders No. 182(?), August 18(?), printed copy in Martin Papers; the heading is scarcely legible.

²²"Journal", 17, August 20, 1862; A. F. Pugh, *Diary*, August 20, 1862, ff.

the militia, undoubtedly tended to accentuate the problem of supplies.²³ At an auction in Napoleonville early in August salt fetched \$10 a bushel, flour and pork \$50 to \$60 a barrel.²⁴ Planters were very actively engaged in buying beef to substitute for pork.²⁵ In one transaction Colonel W. W. Pugh acquired thirty-five head of cattle in exchange for sugar at four and one-half cents per pound; in another, he entrusted an agent with \$1,200 "to invest in beeves for him in Attacapas."²⁶ Some wants could not be met—Franklin Pugh late in August smoked his last cigar.²⁷ Money was "getting scarce as every thing else."²⁸ Planting in early spring had been with an eye to subsistence crops, but the season proved unfavorable. The corn crop on Boatner Plantation was light, not exceeding that of 1861.²⁹ Record high water brought crevasses on River and Bayou with some damage to large plantations.³⁰ For the planter class there was nothing approaching downright privation of the necessities of life; indeed, even the darker days ahead did not bring that. But the few hints that survived indicated a grimmer picture among those not well-to-do. In May "a number of the inhabitants" of Houma were reported in a poor

²³Bits of evidence to this effect appear in the Martin Papers and also in A. F. Pugh Papers (Archives Collection, The Library of the University of Texas).

²⁴A. F. Pugh, Diary, August 4, 1862. Pugh neglected to give measures, but bushel and barrel were clearly meant. (Hereinafter cited as Diary).

²⁵Diary, July 1, 2, 28, August 17-19, 1862; W. H. Kinkman to H. J. Boatner & Co., receipt, July 28, 1862, A. F. Pugh Papers.

²⁶Pugh and S. Sandford, contract, July 10, 1862, with endorsement, August 1, 1862, of delivery of thirty-one hogsheads of sugar weighing 37,709 pounds; Joseph A. Aucoin to Pugh, receipt, August 1, 1862. Both documents are in W. W. Pugh Papers.

²⁷Diary, August 25, 1862.

²⁸Diary, August 14, 1862, on the occasion of borrowing \$100 for his brother John, who was in military service, from F. Rodrigue, storekeeper. Franklin had borrowed July 27, 1862, probably to buy beeves for Boatner Plantation, \$500 from his neighbor Wilson Grisamore, brickmason and planter. He borrowed September 4, 1862, for W. H. Pugh & Company from F. Varaldi & Company, storekeepers, \$1,100 in Confederate notes, giving a promissory note payable in the same paper March 1, 1863, with 8% interest.

²⁹Diary, September 4, October 13, 1862.

³⁰A. F. Pugh's diary March 26, June 20, 1862, was very largely taken up with high water, which produced at least four major crevasses on the Bayou.

and suffering condition,"³¹ and in the same month W. W. Pugh donated twelve barrels of molasses to "the poor and needy" of Donaldsonville.³² In June the backwaters from the Mississippi flooded most of the brulées west of the Bayou in Assumption Parish, and in July, according to W. W. Pugh, the families of three-fifths of the militiamen of the parish were "in a destitute condition."³³ The police jury of Assumption on September 3, 1862, approved the printing of parish scrip up to \$15,000 for the relief of want "in consequence of the late overflow and the action of the conscript law."³⁴

One of the gravest results of the proximity of Federal forces was a wave of unrest among the Negroes. It came with apparent suddenness early in July. On July 7 Welman F. Pugh "Went out to catch some negroes." On July 8 Franklin Pugh recorded "a perfect stampede of the negroes on some places" in the vicinity of Boatner Plantation. July 9: "They are getting in all the runaways in the neighborhood." Welman reported July 10 that he "had vacation this week and was looking for runaways all the time."³⁵ The runaway wave subsided, but hints of trouble continued. According to the recollections of William Watson, a Scot who passed down the River in July, the Negroes on two plantations just below Donaldson-

³¹Lieutenant-Colonel John A. Keith to Butler, May 22, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I. Vol. XV, 455. The distress may have been partly a result of Keith's visit.

³²W. H. Faquier, mayor of Donaldsonville, to Pugh, May 7, 1862, W. W. Pugh Papers.

³³Lathrop, "The Lafourche District in 1862: Militia and Partisan Rangers," *Louisiana History*, I (Summer, 1960), 235.

³⁴*Le Pionier de l'Assomption*, October 1, 1862, A. F. Pugh Papers. The parish of Terrebonne issued bonds "to provide for the care of families of those who went to war." Historical Records Survey, Louisiana, *Inventory of the Parish Archives of Louisiana*, No. 55 Terrebonne Parish (Houma), (University, Louisiana, May, 1941), 47.

³⁵"Journal", 16, July 7, 10, 1862; Diary, July 8-9, 1862. The only runaway from Boatner Plantation mentioned in Franklin Pugh's diary was brought back the next day. That there may have been others appears from a receipt to H. J. Boatner & Company, August 4, 1862, for \$100 paid for arresting Jerry and a mule. A. F. Pugh Papers. A runaway who escaped was later noticed in Ellen Boatner (Mrs. A. F.) Pugh, Assumption, Louisiana, to husband, February 2, 1863, A. F. Pugh Papers.

ville revolted at that time, refusing to work. A detachment of Federal troops placed the ringleaders in stocks and sent the others to the fields with admonitions against trying "to stir up any revolt or disobedience to their masters."³⁶ Early the next month Captain McWaters learned that Colonel S. Landry "had seven Negroes shot yesterday by the Neighbors[.] Col[.] L. himself credits the report . . ."³⁷ At the time of the bombardment of Donaldsonville a Confederate officer across the River heard news of "an insurrection among the negroes in Ascension Parish, and the killing of 40 or 50 of them."³⁸ These rumors of insurrection and killing lacked confirmation (unless they confirmed one another), but a substantial exodus of Negroes from River plantations and perhaps from the Lafourche district was clearly evidenced by their congregation within the Federal lines. According to a historian of the Eighth Vermont Volunteers, contrabands poured in "till the number in camp to whom the quartermaster of the Eighth issued rations at Algiers, was reported at 5,000."³⁹

In the second half of August the military situation along Lafourche took a turn for the better. By August 20 Major-General Lewis, commanding Louisiana Militia, had established headquarters at Thibodaux, and the militia of the district were in active service. About the same time the Thirteenth Texas Cavalry Battalion, composed of mounted riflemen under Major Ed. Waller, arrived on the scene.⁴⁰ What was most important, Major-General Richard Taylor, commander of the Confederacy's newly created District of Western Louisiana, reached Thibodaux on or before August 31, 1862.⁴¹ As a citizen of St. Charles Parish—his Fashion Plantation lay on the

³⁶*Life in the Confederate Army* . . . (London, 1887), 397-398, 424.

³⁷ McWaters to Martin or W. W. Pugh, August 5, 1862, W. W. Pugh Papers.

³⁸*Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 1124.

³⁹G. G. Benedict, *Vermont in the Civil War* . . . (2 vols., Burlington, 1886-1888), II, 106.

⁴⁰No less than three letters by Bayou residents (all planters wives) mention Texas troops on Lafourche before the coming of Waller, but stronger evidence goes to show in each case that the troops alluded to were actually Louisianians.

⁴¹"Journal", 17, August 31, 1862: "Went to Thib on important business To see gen Dick Taylor."

west bank of the River a few miles above the Opelousas Railroad—Taylor was well acquainted with the Lafourche region and well known therein. Much was expected of him. Even the hypercritical Braxton Bragg, then beginning his Kentucky campaign, said that Taylor was ‘the *right man* in the *right place*, for if any body *could* do any thing in *La. he would*, as he had great energy & intelligence.’⁴²

Taylor came with plans to carry the action to the enemy by clearing the Opelousas Railroad at least as far as the River.⁴³ Whether independently or at Taylor’s instigation, Governor Moore had already ordered the militia to prepare for such an operation.⁴⁴ The Federal outpost along the railroad was Des Allemands, on the Bayou of that name. Taylor had reason to believe it the center of marauding expeditions from which his own estate and many others had suffered.⁴⁵ To capture the post it must be taken from the rear, i. e., the River side. A march from Thibodaux to the railroad east of Des Allemands by regular roads would mean going thirty-three miles up the Bayou to Donaldsonville and nearly sixty miles down the River to Boutte Station. To avoid both the excessive distance and the danger of being observed on the River leg, the Con-

⁴²Remark by Bragg to R. L. Pugh, private in the Fifth Company Washington Artillery at Munfordville, Kentucky, about September 18, 1862, quoted in R. L. Pugh, camp near Murfreesboro, Tennessee, to Mary Williams Pugh (his wife), December 16, 1862, R. L. Pugh Papers (Department of Archives, Louisiana State University).

⁴³Taylor, Opelousas, to Brigadier-General Daniel Ruggles, Port Hudson, Louisiana, August 20, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 802. Talk ran even to a Confederate recapture of New Orleans. *Ibid.*, 806-807, 810, 817; Caroline Guion (Mrs. Francis T.) Nicholls, near Lynchburg, Virginia, to Josephine Nicholls Pugh, Woodlawn Plantation, Louisiana, September 6, 1862, W. W. Pugh Papers.

⁴⁴Moore’s instructions to Martin, August 12, 1862, above p. 307. It is possible, though not certain from available evidence, that Taylor conferred with Moore on or before the date of the instructions.

⁴⁵Concerning plundering in this vicinity see Richard Taylor, *Destruction and Reconstruction: Personal Experiences of the Late War* (New York, 1879), 111-112; Taylor to Butler, September 8, 1862, Taylor to Butler, September 10, 1862, and General Orders No. 74 (Butler), September 19, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 565-567, 573-574, and *Butler Correspondence*, II, 265-269, 315; *DeBow’s Review*, XXXIII (November, 1866), 538; and Andrew M. Sherman, *In the Lowlands of Louisiana in 1863 . . .* ([Morristown, New Jersey, 1908?]), 30.

federates worked their way along a swamp route via the Vacherie Settlement and reached the River some thirty miles above the railroad. Aided by enemy mishaps, they soon succeeded both in ambushing a train at Boutte Station and in capturing Des Allemands. Federal casualties on September 4-5 amounted to nine killed, twenty-seven wounded (five mortally), and 155 missing; and the Federal outpost on the west side of the River was drawn back to Company Canal, only ten miles above Algiers.⁴⁶ Suffering little or no loss themselves, the Confederates captured, besides the prisoners, a twelve-pound howitzer, two Ellsworth machine guns, and a welcome supply of arms and accoutrements. "This trifling success," as Taylor called it, "the first in the State since the loss of New Orleans," provided a much needed tonic to the spirit of the people.⁴⁷

The capture of the Des Allemands post was not an unmixed blessing, for it raised yet another painful conflict between loyalty to the Confederate cause and fear of Federal retaliation. Among the prisoners captured were seven Germans, former residents and militiamen of Lafourche Parish who had fled to New Orleans and enlisted in the Eighth Vermont Regiment. Technically they were deserters. No doubt more

⁴⁶*Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 133-135, for the Federal reports; Benedict, *Vermont in the Civil War*, II, 97-104; George N. Carpenter, *History of the Eight Regiment Vermont Volunteers* . . . (Boston, 1886), 53-57; George C. Harding, *Miscellaneous Writings* (Indianapolis, 1882), 177, 311, 323.

⁴⁷Taylor, *Destruction and Reconstruction*, 111. According to Taylor, the capture of Des Allemands was effected under his instructions by Waller's Texas Battalion; according to George B. N. Wailes, then colonel of the St. Charles militia, it was the work of volunteers from St. Charles and St. John the Baptist under his command, the Lafourche regiment under Colonel T. E. Vick, the Terrebonne regiment under Colonel J. R. Bisland, and partisan rangers under Captains Ashe and McWaters, with Brigadier-General J. G. Pratt, Ninth Brigade Louisiana Militia, in command. Waile's circumstantial narrative, in the form of a letter to Captain Alex Hebert dated April 30, 1894, and first published in the New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, is reprinted in George R. Norris, "The Battle of Des Allemands," *Confederate Veteran*, XXXIV (January, 1926), 15-16. The Federal accounts cited in the preceding note, together with one from New Orleans *Delta*, November 15, 1862, quoted in *Daily Picayune*, November 16, lend some slight support to both sides. In the absence of contemporary Confederate reports the evidence hardly warrants a verdict either way.

serious was the charge that one and perhaps all had delivered into Federal hands a Confederate lieutenant, and had acted as spies and guides for "marauding excursions upon the Vacherie." Such offenses were not to be condoned. Yet who could doubt that Butler, busily enlisting Louisianians in his army, would be furious at the punishment of these men? Major-General Lewis ordered a court-martial composed of twelve officers (fourteen if the judge-advocate and provost-marshal be counted) of the Lafourche and Terrebonne militia regiments to convene September 22, 1862, to try the seven. Convicted by the court, they were executed a month later at Bayou des Allemands on the eve of a Federal campaign for the conquest of the Lafourche district.⁴⁸

Nearly two years after the event a Federal officer investigated the details of the trial and execution. His report probably did not misrepresent, except in degree the apprehension with which the court and the executioners acted. The court opened with nine members, but two who opposed the court-martialing "managed not to be present at the last part nor to vote."

The shooting party consisted of eighty-four men, some of which were detailed, and some were hired at \$50 apiece as substitutes. . . . Another class were drafted, and as the testimony of eye-witnesses show[s], were compelled to take part in the execution from fear of great bodily harm.

The reluctance of participants proved to be only too well grounded. Of the ninety-eight men involved in the trial and execution, only five could be found in the Lafourche district in August, 1864. Two of these had already suffered

⁴⁸*Official Records*, Ser. II, Vol. IV, 709-710; Benedict, *Vermont in the Civil War*, II, 104-106; Carpenter, *Eight Vermont*, 63-66. Butler withheld from exchange fourteen Confederate prisoners (headed by a brigadier-general) whom he proposed to shoot, if the General-in-Chief would so instruct him, in retaliation for the Bayou des Allemands execution. Butler to Lieutenant-General J. C. Pemberton, November 13, 1862, and to Major-General H. W. Halleck, November 14, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. II, Vol. IV, 708-709, or *Butler Correspondence*, II, 472-474. Butler's successor let the matter drop.

imprisonment, and all five still had murder charges hanging over their heads.⁴⁹

The Confederate success at Des Allemands was almost counterbalanced by a prompt Federal stroke against Waller's Texas Battalion. The danger to Waller in operations along the River was "that the enemy might, from transports, throw forces ashore above and below him, at points where the swamps in the rear were impassable."⁵⁰ His presence in the neighborhood of St. Charles Court-House became known on September 7 to Colonel James W. McMillan, one of Butler's ablest officers. Next day McMillan landed two regiments in the vicinity of the Court-House and two about five miles above, catching Waller's men between. The Confederates, forced to take to the swamps as best they could, escaped with moderate casualties, but they lost upwards of 250 horses and quantities of equipment.⁵¹

Hard upon the shattering of Waller's Battalion came two more or less disturbing episodes in the vicinity of Donaldsonville. Ascension Parish and the upper part of Assumption contained a considerable Spanish element which was, in certain places at least, quite distinct from the rest of the population. On September 10 "an infernal Spaniard in ambush" killed B. S. Tappan, a member of the Louisiana secession convention who had just become captain of a cavalry company.⁵² This event led, probably, to punitive action against the disaffected Spaniards. The other episode was the landing at Donaldsonville on September 11 of a Federal force apparently engaged in an armed trading venture of the sort that laid

⁴⁹Brigadier-General R. A. Cameron to Major George D. Drake, A.A.G., August 29, 1864, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XLI, pt. II, 917-918.

⁵⁰Taylor, *Destruction and Reconstruction*, 112. Taylor implies that he had left the Lafourche district before misfortune befell Waller, but a letter in *Butler Correspondence*, II, 265, shows him still at Thibodaux September 8.

⁵¹*Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 135-138, for the Federal reports; Harding, *Miscellaneous Writings*, 311-315; Benedict, *Vermont in the Civil War*, II, 104; Wailes to Hebert, April 30, 1894, Norris, "The Battle of Des Allemands," *Confederate Veteran*, XXXIV (January, 1926), 16.

⁵²Diary, September 11, 1862; "Journal", 18, September 10, 1862.

Butler's integrity under suspicion.⁵³ The conduct of part of the troops moved the commander of the escorting gunboat to inquire whether his guns were to be used.

in the protection of drunken, undisciplined, and licentious troops in the wanton pillage of a private mansion of wines, plate, silk dresses, the misses and female apparel, to say nothing of the confiscation of sugar, which I believe to be without proper and lawful reason therefore.⁵⁴

Ten days later Donaldsonville was again the debarkation point of a Federal expedition, this one composed of the Twenty-First Indiana Volunteers under Colonel McMillan. McMillan's report mentioned sugar, but his primary purpose was to try out the Confederate position on upper Bayou Lafourche. Near Charles Kock's Belle Alliance Plantation he was met by the fire of five guns, flanked by cavalry under McWaters, and forced to retire. McMillan took "one prisoner in arms and the town assessor and brought [off] a few of the citizens as refugees." His force and transportation had, he said, been "insufficient to follow on down the bayou"; and he had "learned that the Spanish refugees preferred remaining and fighting the rebels *à la mode* Seminole."⁵⁵ Franklin Pugh pronounced the affair near Belle Alliance badly managed by the Confederates, who had "probably 5 to one of the Federals," but opined that the enemy would at least "hardly be heard from again for several days."⁵⁶

Confederate mounted troops in the Lafourche district began to be organized during September into the Second Louisiana Cavalry, Colonel W. G. Vincent.⁵⁷ McWaters's and Ashe's

⁵³Cf. George Denison, New Orleans to S. P. Chase, October 10, 1862, *Diary and Correspondence of Salmon P. Chase* (American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1902, Vol. II, Washington, 1903), 321-322.

⁵⁴*Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 569. For related matter see *Official Records* . . . *Navies*, Ser. I, Vol. XIX, 198, 212, 245, 773-774.

⁵⁵Report of McMillan, September 25, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 141-142; Harding, *Micellaneous Writings*, 317 ff. Harding was captured on this occasion.

⁵⁶Diary, September 24-25, 1862.

partisan rangers were merged into the regiment, and McWaters became its lieutenant-colonel.⁵⁸ Company H, otherwise known as "Whittington's Cavalry," was raised in Assumption Parish, where conscription provided a plain stimulus to volunteering.⁵⁹

Accessory to the increase in troops was the establishment of a Confederate military hospital at Thibodaux.⁶⁰ Among its volunteer workers was Elise Bragg, the General's wife, who wrote on a Sunday evening about the end of September that she was quite worn out: "having been all morning at the hospital, I came home prepared rooms for sick soldiers, sent my carriage for them, but I suppose the weather was too inclement for the Doctor to let them come."⁶¹

Enrollment of Confederate conscripts took place in Assumption Parish on August 30, 1862.⁶² No doubt nearly all the conscripts there and in the other parishes were already in camp as members of the militia regiments.⁶³ In time most of them apparently went for training to Camp Pratt on the Teche; by December many were heavy artillerymen manning the levee

⁵⁷Louisiana Adjutant General, *Annual Report*, 1891 (New Orleans, 1892), 35-36; service record of Vincent in Andrew B. Booth (comp.), *Records of Louisiana Confederate Soldiers and Louisiana Confederate Commands* (3 vols. in 4, New Orleans, 1920), Vol. III, bk. II, 938. Harding, *Miscellaneous Writings*, 321, speaks of Vincent as "a little, spectacled man, with a Jewish cast of countenance."

⁵⁸Service records of J. A. McWaters, T. J. Stafford (first lieutenant of McWater's Partisan Rangers), S. A. Ashe, B. W. Bond, Lewis Hayes, and M. R. Hayes, in Booth, *Louisiana Confederate Soldiers*. McWater's company perhaps passed as a unit into the new regiment, but Ashe's seems to have disbanded and re-enlisted, its officers (except Ashe) becoming privates in other companies.

⁵⁹Service records of B. S. Tappan, J. B. Whittington, Joseph A. Aucoin, and various Daigles, Landrys, LeBlancs, Molleres, and Simoneaux, in *ibid*. The company enlisted September 1, two days after enrollment of conscripts in the parish.

⁶⁰Franklin (St. Mary Parish) *Weekly Junior Register*, October 2, 1862, paraphrased in Argosy Book Stores, Catalogue 365 [issued 1953], item 246.

⁶¹Note to Mary Williams (Mrs. R. L.) Pugh, September 28 or October 5, 1862, R. L. Pugh Papers, covering two letters (not found) from Bragg to Mrs. Bragg. Mary Pugh's husband was in Bragg's Army. According to Mrs. Bragg the General, then in the midst of his Kentucky campaign, wrote "so *hopefully*. God grant his bright anticipations may be realized."

⁶²Diary, August 30, 1862.

⁶³Colonel W. W. Pugh, commanding Assumption regiment, was directed to

batteries at Vicksburg.⁶⁴ The number taken from the Lafourche district was so large—amounting, as shown in “Returns of Conscripts” reported to the Louisiana Adjutant and Inspector General’s Office, to 636 from Assumption, 559 from Lafourche, and 501 from Terrebonne—that their departure must have severely depleted the militia units; surviving records did not say, however, when they were actually removed.⁶⁵ The Assumption militia, whether with or without conscripts, were still encamped September 22 and expecting to remain so; Franklin Pugh surmised in his diary that he might not be able to get home “before a month.” But on September 30 Governor Moore, declaring that there was “no longer necessity for the militia,” ordered them to their homes. On October 13 the order was repeated with a proviso authorizing the Confederate brigadier or Colonel in command to retain in service, at the expense of the Confederate States, any portion of the militia he might require.⁶⁶ The policy behind Moore’s orders—which looked startling in retrospect because they were paralleled by Federal preparations for invasion of the Lafourche district—was that of General Taylor. As rapidly as Confederate troops became available he wished the militia disbanded “in order that the conscripts among

include in his report of the purchase and use of beeves an account of any consumed by conscripts “since Genl Taylor has taken possession of said Conscripts.” M. Grivot, Adjutant General’s Office, Opelousas, to Pugh, September 9, 1862, W. W. Pugh Papers.

⁶⁴One hundred of 450 from Assumption were reported dead of sickness and mistreatment since their arrival in Vicksburg. R. C. Martin, Jr., Vicksburg, Mississippi, to Maggie Littlejohn Martin (his wife), December 17-18, 1862, and to General R. C. Martin, December 19, 1862, Martin Papers.

⁶⁵Louisiana Adjutant General (M. Grivot), Annual Report, December 10, 1862, in [Napier Bartlett], *A Soldier’s Story of the War Including the Marches and Battles of the Washington Artillery and of Other Louisiana Troops* (New Orleans, 1874), 256-257.

⁶⁶Orders No. 881 and 889, issued at Alexandria, Louisiana, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 819, 826-827. The orders applied to the three parishes of the Lafourche district, to the four River parishes of the Fifth Brigade, and to the Teche parishes of St. Mary and St. Martin. A. F. Pugh recorded in his diary the disbanding of the Assumption regiment October 2, 1862.

them might be brought into the camp of instruction within the least possible delay."⁶⁷

Command of the Lafourche district was now in the hands of a West Pointer, Brigadier-General Alfred Mouton. By late October the whole force at his disposal, independent of conscripts and local militia, amounted to two good batteries of artillery (with another forming), perhaps 1,000 infantry, partly veteran, and 350 cavalry. This aggregation was certainly not large, and it was badly organized; but with luck and good management it might be adequate for successful resistance to Federal invasion.⁶⁸

⁶⁷Taylor, Bayou Teche, Louisiana, to General S. Cooper, November 9, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 175.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, 176-180; Taylor, *Destruction and Reconstruction*, 113.

*Collections
in the Manuscript Sections of
Howard-Tilton Memorial Library,
Tulane University*

By CONNIE G. GRIFFITH

who is Manuscript Librarian at Howard-
Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University.

THE ARCHIVES DEPARTMENT of Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University, is relatively new. It was established in the mid-forties, and its holdings now number some five hundred thousand pieces of manuscript material that relate chiefly to the Lower Mississippi Valley, Louisiana, and more especially, New Orleans, and date from the year 1655 to the present time.

Papers of persons prominent in the government of Louisiana, as a province, territory or state include those of Henry W. Allen, 1863-1866, (5 pieces and 1 scrapbook); Francisco Bouligny (Bouligny-Baldwin Papers), 1710-1863, (167 pieces); Baron de Carondelet, 1793-1797 (85 pieces); Marquis de Casa Calvo, 1800-1803, (10 pieces); William C. C. Claiborne, 1800-1818 (20 pieces); Bernardo de Gálvez, 1779-1781 (17 pieces); Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, 1797-1799 (10 pieces); William Pitt Kellogg, 1830-1918 (10 pieces); Pierre Clément de Laussat, 1803-1804 (19 pieces); Estevan Miró, 1779-1791 (32 pieces); George F. Shepley, 1861-1865 (49 pieces).

It was fitting that the first collection of family papers to be received in the Department was the Mrs. Mason Barret Collection of Albert Sidney and William Preston Johnston

papers, 1803-1900 (11,229 pieces), since William Preston Johnston was President of Tulane University from 1884-1899. Included are letters from General William Preston, Jefferson Davis, Sam Houston, Ashbel Smith, and Robert E. Lee.

Another important collection is that of the Favrot family, 1695-1937 (2005 pieces), which contains letters from Carlos de Grand Pré, Juan Ventura Morales, Armesto y López, José de Gálvez, Bernardo de Gálvez, Baron de Carondelet, Edward Livingston, De Lassus, Alexander McGillivray, Kerlerrec, and other governors of the Spanish and French periods. Eight volumes of transcriptions of the papers were prepared by the Louisiana Historical Records Survey of the Works Progress Administration and were published in 1941 and 1942 (Volumes I to VII and Volume IX). The work has recently been resumed in the Archives Department of Howard-Tilton Memorial Library. Volume VIII is now in press and Volume X is in preparation.

The Rosemonde E. and Emile Kuntz Collection consists of some 430 French and Spanish manuscripts dealing with the families of de Kernion, Bouligny, Dauterive, d'Auberville, Maison Rouge, de Coulanges, de Villemont, Villars, and de Grand Pré; the government of New Orleans and Louisiana; the revolution of 1768; and the Company of the Indies. The papers date from 1655 to 1878. There are also twenty items about Carrollton, 1857-1870; 250 pieces on the Civil War and Reconstruction, 1861-1874; 90 issues of newspapers, 1842-1863; and a large number of broadsides and pamphlets.

Other collections dealing with family groups include the papers of the Bartlett-Basore family (Arkansas, Louisiana), 1860-1949 (240 pieces); the Chesnier-Duchesne-Smith family (Louisiana), 1780-1892 (151 pieces); the De Clouet family (Louisiana), 1854-1858 (51 pieces); the De la Vigne family (Georgia, Louisiana) 1797-1840 (69 pieces); the Grima family (New Orleans) 1783-1931 (1,320 pieces); the Hébert-Kirkland family (West Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana), 1793-1881 (113 pieces); the La Villebeuvre family (Louisiana), 1844-

1857 (101 pieces); the Peters-LeMonnier-Lastrapes family (New Orleans), 1711-1933 (700 pieces); the St. Martin family (Louisiana), 1829-1929 (374 pieces); the Wendell family (Tennessee, Louisiana), 1814-1896 (63 pieces); the Urquhart family (Scotland, Louisiana), 1506-1953 (390 pieces), and in the same collection the papers of the Álvarez-Fisk family (Mississippi, Louisiana) 1813-1890 (210 pieces); the Trist family (Louisiana), 1516-1949 (213 pieces); the Charest-DeGournay-DuBourg family (Santo Domingo, Louisiana), 1715-1952 (159 pieces); the Augustine D. Tureaud family (Louisiana), 1754-1955 (37 pieces); the Bringier family (Santo Domingo, Louisiana), 1771-1942 (501 pieces); the Brou Plantation, 1802-1921 (288 pieces); General Richard Taylor (Louisiana, Confederate Army Officer), 1850-1857 (169 pieces); and Trist Wood (Louisiana), 1869-1953 (725 pieces).

The Garnier de la Villesbret Collection which was recently acquired will be of interest to students of French history as it relates to the Cormier, Du Médic, and Garnier de la Villesbret families of Brittany, whose members participated in the French Revolution, the Crimean War, the Franco-Prussian War, and the French invasion of Mexico. The collection has about 5,000 pieces and dates from 1436 to about 1920.

Papers of individuals include those of Charles E. Alter (New Orleans; merchant), 1850-1895 (490 pieces); John James Audubon (France, Louisiana; naturalist), 1807-1827 (14 pieces); William Beer (England, New Orleans; librarian of Howard Memorial Library), 1892-1924 (4,760 pieces); Mary E. Burt (Chicago, New York; educator, author), 1898-1919 (40 pieces); George Colmer (Louisiana; physician, epidemiologist) 1841-1874 (2 diaries); William Kernan Dart (New Orleans; lawyer), 1916-1918 (213 pieces); Charles H. Dickinson (Tennessee, Louisiana; planter), 1803-1945 (70 pieces); Alexander Dimitry (Louisiana; United States Minister to Costa Rica and Nicaragua, Confederate States of America Cabinet member), 1859-1895 (19 pieces and 2 volumes); John G. Dunlap (Georgia, New Orleans; merchant), 1827-1869 (179 pieces); Minnie Maddern Fiske (New Orleans; actress), 1865-1935, (53

pieces); Marguerite M. Fortier (Louisiana; Director of Confederate Memorial Hall), 1821-1957 (969 pieces); Myra Clark Gaines (New Orleans; daughter of Daniel Clark and wife of General Edmund P. Gaines), 1834-1861 (221 pieces); James Gallier, Jr. (New Orleans; architect), 1839?-1860 (208 pieces); Marie Drivin Girard (New Orleans; teacher, writer), 1777-1902 (61 pieces); Robert Glenk (Pennsylvania, Louisiana; chemist, curator of Louisiana State Museum), 1897-1949 (2,802 pieces); Daisy M. L. Hodgson (Louisiana; U. D. C. leader), 1870-1935 (165 pieces); Ethel Hutson (New Orleans; Suffragist, artist), 1913-1920 (1,077 pieces); Joseph Finley Joor (Louisiana; botanist), 1871-1892 (103 pieces); John Klorer (New Orleans; engineer), 1924-1941 (131 pieces); Joseph Lakanal (France, Louisiana; educator, president of Collège d'Orléans, New Orleans), 1793-1795 (30 pieces); Benjamin H. Latrobe (Pennsylvania, Maryland; architect), 1807-1832 (46 pieces); W. H. McLellan (New Orleans; ship chandler), 1839-1884 (115 pieces); John McDonogh (Louisiana; merchant and philanthropist), 1802-1873 (6,950 pieces); William Newton Mercer (Mississippi, Louisiana; planter, physician, financier), 1832-1854 (362 pieces); Robert Mills (South Carolina, District of Columbia; architect), 1802-1853 (34 pieces and 4 volumes); Don A. Pardee (New Orleans; United States Judge), 1882-1885 (392 pieces); Father Antonio de Sedella (Louisiana; priest), 1798-1807 (6 volumes); Eleanor P. Thompson (New Orleans; U. D. C. leader and clubwoman), 1874-1925 (371 pieces); Paul Tulane (New Orleans, New Jersey; merchant, philanthropist), 1825-1901 (378 pieces and 3 volumes); and William G. Weeks (New Iberia; notary), 1889-1947 (28 volumes).

Papers of Louisiana planters include those of Walthall Burton (St. Landry Parish), 1806-1896 (75 pieces); Benjamin Farar (Mississippi, Louisiana; planter, Army officer), 1773-1826 (58 pieces), Ferdinand de Feriet (New Orleans), 1816-1840 (192 pieces); Prosper Foy (St. Charles Parish), 1790-1878 (196 pieces); Julien Poydras (Pointe Coupée Parish), 1792-1822 (3 pieces and 2 volumes); Samuel R. Walker (Elia

Plantation) 1856-1878 (1 journal); and Archibald P. Williams (Rapides Parish), 1824-1829 (114 pieces).

Papers of authors and artists include those of Roark Bradford (dramatist, short story writer), 1930-1949 (155 pieces); Amy H. Wales Bullock (dramatist, poet), 1889-1939 (178 pieces); George Washington Cable (Louisiana, Massachusetts; novelist), 1855-1927 (28,000 pieces); Eugene Chassignac (Louisiana; composer), 1867-1873 (79 pieces); Mollie Moore Davis (Louisiana; novelist), 1854-1901 (61 pieces); Charles Gayarré (historian), 1857-1895 (70 pieces); Lafcadio Hearn (Ohio, Louisiana, Japan; author), 1886-1891 (70 pieces); Grace Elizabeth King (novelist, short story writer), 1917-1920 (58 pieces); Albert Caruthers Phelps (journalist, author, artist) 1885-1906 (28 pieces); Francois Dominique Rouquette (poet), 1839-1852 (5 pieces and 2 volumes); Lyle Saxon (novelist), 1929-1945 (3,298 pieces); Ruth McEnery Stuart (short story writer), 1879-1912 (90 pieces); and Mary Ashley Townsend (poet, author), 1854-1901 (72 pieces).

Of special interest to Civil War historians is the manuscript collection of the Louisiana Historical Association, which was formerly housed in the Confederate Memorial Hall. It consists of correspondence, telegrams, diaries, general and special orders, memoranda, bills and receipts, muster rolls, maps, scrapbooks, newspapers, sheet music, and photographs of the Civil War period, and correspondence, records, and scrapbooks of various Confederate veteran associations. There are also several hundred items dealing with the early history of New Orleans and with prominent families of the region. The collection numbers about 150,000 items, covering the period from 1698 to 1955 and is divided as follows: Administrative Records (3,785 pieces and 60 volumes); Civil War Documents (481 pieces and 46 volumes); Confederate Personnel (2,647 pieces); Jefferson Davis (6,206 pieces and 20 volumes); Confederate States Cavalry (154 pieces and 3 volumes); J. A. Chalaron (1,451 pieces and 6 volumes); J. B. Walton (198 pieces and 3 volumes); W. W. Hunter (658 pieces and 8 volumes); A. C. Van Benthuisen (64 pieces); Albert Sidney Johnston (2,217

pieces and 9 volumes); J. A. Harral (399 pieces and 1 volume); Joseph L. Brent (407 pieces and 6 volumes); Memorial Associations (2,610 pieces and 44 volumes); New Orleans (1,385 pieces and 10 volumes); United Confederate Veterans (3,133 pieces and 6 volumes); United Sons of Confederate Veterans (5,210 pieces and 15 volumes); Other Veteran Organizations (35 pieces); Camp Nichols (3,940 pieces and 5 volumes); Army of Tennessee (14,602 pieces and 53 volumes); Board of Pensions (470 pieces and 2 volumes); Army of Northern Virginia (9,150 pieces and 53 volumes); Washington Artillery (2,688 pieces and 25 volumes); G. W. Brent (7 pieces and 5 volumes); John T. Purves (24 pieces and 2 volumes); William H. Thomas (701 pieces and 10 volumes); Sheet Music (185 pieces and 1 volume); Muster Rolls (518 pieces); Newspapers (2,509 pieces and 10 volumes); Books and Pamphlets (194 pieces); Maps (10 volumes); and Photographs (910 pieces).

Additional papers of army personnel are those of P. G. T. Beauregard (Louisiana; Confederate general), 1839-1888 (291 pieces); Edward A. Burke (Louisiana; Confederate officer and political figure), 1837-1906 (41 pieces); Andrew Hynes Tennessee; U. S. Army officer), 1814-1816 (52 pieces); Henry D. Ogden (Louisiana; jurist, Confederate officer), 1862-1865 (86 pieces); Asa B. Sizer (New York; U. S. Army officer), 1809-1879 (118 items); Ephraim Samuel Stoddard (Vermont, Louisiana; Union soldier, deputy superintendent of public education), 1836-1904 (207 pieces and 12 diaries); Richard Taylor (Louisiana; Confederate general), 1864-1865 (5 letter-books); and M. Jeff Thompson (Louisiana; Confederate general), 1848-1959 (1,058 pieces).

Among the papers of faculty members of Tulane University are those of Pierce Butler (Louisiana, Mississippi; writer and dean of Newcomb College), 1892-1949 (914 pieces); Albert Bledsoe Dinwiddie (Virginia, Louisiana; president of Tulane University), 1891-1915 (24 pieces); Brandt V. B. Dixon (dean of Newcomb College), 1887-1901 (121 pieces); Leon Ryder Maxwell (Massachusetts, Louisiana; head of the Department

of Music at Newcomb College), 1870-1957 (1,181 pieces); John Leonard Riddel (Ohio, Louisiana; chemist, botanist), 1831-1865 (20 pieces and 28 diaries); Edmond Souchon (Louisiana; physician), 1861-1953 (352 pieces); Ellsworth Woodward (Louisiana; professor of art at Newcomb College), 1914-1939 (528 pieces); and William Woodward (Louisiana, Mississippi; artist, professor of architecture at Tulane University), 1893-1901 (280 pieces).

The papers of persons who served as members of the United States Congress include those of Thomas C. Catchings (Mississippi; lawyer, United States Congressman), 1839-1931 (3,140 pieces); Randall Lee Gibson (Louisiana; lawyer, United States Representative and Senator), 1875-1892 (130 pieces); and John Slidell (Louisiana; United States Senator, diplomat), 1829-1865 (2 pieces and 1 letterbook containing 183 letters written between 1829 and 1833).

Municipal and government archives are represented by the following collections: Louisiana Superior Council Records, 1717-1773 (77 reels of microfilm); New Orleans City Charter Papers, 1950-1952 (248 pieces); New Orleans City Surveyors' Records, 1841-1878 (15 volumes); New Orleans Fire Department Records, 1848-1893 (62 volumes); and New Orleans Municipal Papers, 1770-1884 (1,444 pieces).

There are numerous collections of papers of business, industrial, and banking organizations, such as the Canal Bank and Trust Company, 1827-1903 (741 pieces and 219 volumes); Carroll, Hoy & Company, 1861-1869 (640 pieces); Citizens' Bank of Louisiana, 1834-1892 (539 pieces and 41 volumes); Low-Wallace, 1783-1857 (25 pieces); Marine Paint and Varnish Company (estimated at 5,000 pieces); Norman Mayer, 1903-1937 (250 pieces and 94 volumes); New Orleans and Carrollton Railroad Company, 1834-1896 (260 pieces and 1 volume); Porkony Company, 1851-1958 (228 pieces); and M. A. Rogers Company (estimated at 20,000 pieces).

Papers of educational, social and philanthropic societies and institutions include those of the American Chemical Society,

Louisiana Section, 1906-1955 (604 pieces and 28 volumes); the Asylum for the Relief of Destitute Boys, 1836-1849 (5 volumes); L'Athénée Louisianais, 1876-1886 (215 pieces); Group Theatre, 1926-1938 (323 pieces); New Orleans Academy of Sciences, 1858-1949 (252 pieces); New Orleans Botanical Society, 1932-1941 (1,040 pieces); Poydras Home (Female Orphan Society), 1778-1960 (31,254 pieces and 90 volumes); Société Française de Bienfaisance et d'Assistance Mutuelle de la Nouvelle-Orléans, 1849-1937 (304 pieces and 30 volumes); and Southern States Art League, 1921-1947 (over 8,000 pieces).

There is a large collection of material dealing with the history of Tulane University and Newcomb College, the Howard Library, the Tulane Society of Economics, and miscellaneous but noteworthy groups of papers, such as Genealogy Records of the Daughters of the American Revolution of Louisiana (30 volumes); Louisianais Steamboat Records, 1824-1825 (98 pieces and 2 volumes); Land Surveys and Applications, 1785-1807 (50 pieces); Prairie Parishes Legal Documents, 1788-1792 (24 pieces); Royal French Land Grants, 1753-1769 (110 pieces); the Souchon Autograph Collection, 1536-1924 (70 pieces); and the G. Purnell Whittington Collection, dealing with the history of Rapides Parish, 1804-1932 (508 pieces).

Collections in the Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Louisiana State University

By V. L. BEDSOLE

who is archivist and Head of the
Department of Archives and Manuscripts,
Louisiana State University.

AT THE REQUEST of the National Historical Publications Commission the Department of Archives and Manuscripts of Louisiana State University prepared a preliminary description of its holdings a few years ago for publication by the Commission in a one-volume nation-wide Guide to Depositories of Archives and Manuscripts. That description, revised in January 1960, is used with the permission of the Executive Director of the Commission as the basis of the list presented here for the readers of *Louisiana History*.

The National Historical Publications Commission was created by Congress in 1950. Its forthcoming *Guide* is part of its program to encourage the publication of "the papers of outstanding citizens of the United States." General instructions from the Commission suggest that no group of materials be mentioned that aggregates less than 50 leaves of manuscript and that papers of particular persons be limited principally to Americans holding high Federal or State office or ones included in the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

Some collections which do not fit in the above mentioned category have been included in this list because of their possible interest to students of Louisiana history. Most of the persons mentioned are from Louisiana. If the place of origin or prominence is not Louisiana, it is so indicated in the entry.

The Department's holdings of more than two million items of original source materials cover the period *ca.* 1700-1959 and pertain chiefly to Louisiana, southwestern Mississippi, and the lower Mississippi Valley. Collections are acquired and used principally for scholarly and other serious research purposes.

The main groups are: (1) some 2,000 collections of personal and family papers, and plantation, business, and professional records, *ca.* 1700-1959 (1,100,000 items and vols.); (2) University records and related material, principally of the office of the President, 1854-1954 (50,000 items and vols.), pertaining to the history and administration of Louisiana State University; (3) State and parish archives, 1786-1933 (1,050,000 items and vols.), held by the Department as the archival unit of the University for the custody of public records; and (4) unpublished research and inventory material of the Survey of Federal Archives and the Historical Records Survey projects in Louisiana, 1936-43 (250 cubic feet), consisting of inventories of public archives, church archives, newspaper files, and manuscript collections; transcriptions of certain Louisiana colonial and territorial records and police jury minutes; and related research material.

Papers of men who held Federal office include those of James B. Aswell (State supt. of public education, pres. of Northwestern Louisiana State College, U. S. Rep.) and his family, 1890-1932 (1,332 items and 35 vols.); Phanor Breazeale (lawyer, U. S. Rep.) and his family, 1806-1904 (4,912 items and 74 vols.); James Brown (U. S. Sen., Minister to France), 1804-27 (98 items); Thomas Butler (State dist., court judge, U. S. Rep.), and related families, 1768-1950 (10,685 items and 172 vols.); Ezekiel John Ellis (lawyer, U. S. Rep.) and his family, 1870-1920 (7,173 items and 72 vols.); Benjamin F. Flanders (teacher, Unionist, U. S. Rep., Military Gov. of La., Mayor of New Orleans), 1827-89 (863 items); Edward J. Gay (planter, manufacturer, U. S. Sen.), his grandfather Edward J. Gay (planter, manufacturer, U. S. Rep.), and related families, 1805-1925 (100,000 items and vols.); William Pitt Kellogg (Gov., U. S. Sen.), 1873-76 (1,327 items); Ladislav

Lazaro (U. S. Rep.), 1894-1928 (6,046 items and 218 vols.); Samuel D. McEnery (Confed. Army officer, Gov., U. S. Sen.), 1882-87 (42 items); Ayers P. Merrill (Miss.; U. S. Minister to Belgium) and his family, 1835-66 (40 items); John H. Overton (U. S. Sen.), 1933-48 (8,000 items); Joseph E. Ransdell (lawyer, U. S. Rep. and Sen.), 1898-1948 (676 items and 28 vols.); Edwin M. Stanton (Ohio, D. C.; Sec. War), 1864-66 (2 vols.); Henry Vignaud (journalist, Confed. diplomat, Sec. of U. S. Legation in Paris, historian), 1862-1909 (385 items), including 75 letters of Louis Placide Canonge (see below); Robert C. Wickliffe (U. S. Rep.), 1897-1912 (70 items and 2 vols.); and John G. A. Williamson (N. C.; U. S. consul and Chargé d'Affaires in Venezuela) and his family, 1812-66 (3 diaries and 473 items).

Papers of Governors of the province, Territory, and State of Louisiana, in addition to a few of those mentioned above, include papers of Henry W. Allen, 1864-65 (20 items); the Baron de Carondelet, 1791-96 (28 items); William C. C. Claiborne, 1804-5, 1812-13 (1 letter book and 5 items); Bernardo de Gálvez, 1778-81 (70 items); Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, 1792-1805 (42 items); Luther E. Hall, 1912-15 (55 items); Thomas O. Moore, 1856-71 (707 items); Francis T. Nicholls, 1877-91 (1 letter book, 2 notebooks, and 19 items); and Jared Y. Sanders and his family 1816-1950 (976 items and 36 vols.).

Papers of Army officers include those of Pierre G. T. Beauregard (U. S. and Confed. Army officer, railroad pres.), and his family, 1818-1912 (806 items and 107 vols.); Joseph L. Brent (Md., La.; Confed. Army officer) and his family, 1862, 1902-40 (1 diary, 1 notebook, and 32 items); Robert Butler (War of 1812 officer), 1833-53 (109 items); Samuel Wragg Ferguson (S. C., Miss.; Confed. Army officer) and his family, 1837-1920 (127 items and 7 vols.); Josiah Gorgas (Pa., Ala.; U. S. and Confed. Army officer) 1847-77 (1 letter book and 3 items); Joseph Jones (Ga., La.; Confed. Army surgeon, sanitarian), 1850-1900 (3,360 items and 74 vols.); St. John R. Liddell (Miss., La.; Confed. Army officer) and his family, 1813-1919 (6,261 items and 49 vols.); John A. Quit-

man (Miss.; Mexican War officer, Gov., U. S. Rep.) and his family, 1824-81 (3 account books, 1 memorandum book, and 17 items); William Tecumseh Sherman (supt. of predecessor of La. State Univ., U. S. Army officer), 1859-90 (230 items); and Henry Wilson (Pa.; Seminole and Mexican Wars army officer, and U. S. military governor of Vera Cruz), 1819-85 (303 items).

Papers of college and university professors and presidents include those of David F. Boyd (La. State Univ. pres.) and his family, 1802-1940 (16,357 items and 323 vols.); Thomas D. Boyd (La. State Univ. pres.) and his family 1875-1929 (30,700 items and 109 vols.); James H. Dillard (Va., Mo., La.; dean at Tulane Univ., pres. of Jeanes Foundation and John F. Slater Fund), 1899-1940 (134 items); Richard T. Ely (Md., Wis., Ill.; economist, prof. at Johns Hopkins, Wis., and Northwestern Univs.), 1700-1895 (321 items and 11 vols.); John Rose Ficklen (historian, Tulane Univ. prof.), 1832-1906 (43 items and 6 vols.); Walter Lynwood Fleming (La., Tenn.; historian), 1908-15 (161 items); Joseph Lakanal (France, Ala., La.; French Revolutionary educator, pres. of College of Orleans, New Orleans), 1793-1834 (22 items); and Edwin L. Stephens (pres. of Southwestern La. Institute), 1883-1940 (6,656 items and 6 vols.).

Papers of other individuals include those of Thomas Affleck (Ind., Miss., Tex.; horticulturist), 1807-79 (925 items and 62 vols.); Louis Placide Canonge (journalist, dramatist) 1886-93 (87 letters); James H. Dakin (architect), 1847-50 (1 diary); J. D. B. DeBow (journalist), 1851-65 (25 items); Stephen Duncan (Pa., Miss.; physician, factor, planter, bank pres.) and his family, 1814-99 (351 items, 2 diaries, and 9 other vols.); Charles E. A. Gayarré (historian), 1720-1895 (967 items and 14 vols.); Jean Gentil (journalist, 1874-1902 (73 items); Joseph C. Hartzell (Ill., La., Africa; Methodist clergyman, missionary bishop for Africa), 1862-72, 1900-6 (488 items and 1 vol.); Charles Colcock Jones, Jr. (Ga., N. Y.; historian), 1865-93 (77 items and 1 vol.); Duncan F. Kenner (Confed. statesman) and his family, 1854-88 (334 items and 2 account books);

the Marquis de Lafayette (France; French and U. S. Army officer) and his family, 1805-48 (124 items); Eleanor Percy Ware Lee (Miss.; poet, novelist), 1830-49 (6 notebooks, 1 other vol., and 19 items); Robert M. Lusher (State supt. of education), 1795-1931 (24 diaries, 2 other vols. and 109 items); Andrew D. Lytle (Ohio, La.; Civil War photographer), 1862-1904 (385 photographs); John W. Monette (Miss.; physician, historian), 1824 (1 vol.); Leona Queyrouse (poet, essayist, lecturer), 1810-1940 (2,614 items and 54 vols.); Henri Rémy (teacher, essayist, editor, historian), 1704-1848 (315 items and 2 vols.); Adrien Rouquette (priest and poet), 1840-60 (359 items and 27 vols.); Lyle Saxon (author), 1923-47 (144 items and 8 vols.); Raphael Semmes (Md., Ala.; U. S. and Confed. Naval officer), 1866-1911 (21 items); James G. Taliaferro (Ky., La.; Republican Party leader, State supreme court justice) and his family, 1787-1934 (895 items and 4 vols.); and Edward Clifton Wharton (Tex., La.; journalist, dramatist, critic) and his family, including John Robert Baylor (Tex.; Confed. Army officer and statesman), 1825-1936 (959 items, 6 diaries, and 3 other vols.).

Other major collections include the E. B. and N. Philip Norman (Avoyelles and Rapides) collection of steamboat and related material for the Lower Mississippi and Red rivers, 1827-1954 (854 items and 112 vols.); Joseph Reynes (Orleans) and his family papers, 1743-1929 (624 items and 36 vols.), reflecting French heritage and culture; research materials and writings of Louisiana and local historians, including J. Fair Hardin (Caddo), 1718-1939 (2,225 items and 18 vols.), and Robert D. Calhoun (Concordia), 1794-1896 (235 items and 8 vols.); papers of Colonel Simon G. Jerrard (Me.; U. S. Army officer) of service in Louisiana, 1862-63, 1897 (1,137 items); William T. Johnson (Miss.; free man of color) and his family, 1793-1937 (1,323 items and 63 vols.); William Newton Mercer (Miss., La.; U. S. Army surgeon, planter, financier), 1789-1874 (1,684 items and 61 vols.); and Joseph D. Shields (Miss.; lawyer, author) and his family, 1802-1948 (1,109 items and 19 vols.).

Papers of Louisiana planters include A. A. Batchelor (Pointe Coupee), 1856-1930 (18,272 items and 50 vols.); Hubbard S. Bosley (Red River) and his family, 1825-1947 (1,249 items and 39 vols.); Louis A. Bringier (Ascension) and his family, 1786-1901 (599 items and 14 vols.) Thomas Butler (West Feliciana and Terrebonne) and his family, mentioned above in men who held Federal office; Thomas W. Butler (West Feliciana) and his family, 1844-1910 (3,724 items and 20 vols.); J. E. Hawkins (Evangeline), 1859-1912 (4,464 items and 184 vols.); George Lanaux (Plaquemines and St. Bernard) and his family, 1830-1915 (3,206 items and 35 vols.); George B. Marshall (Rapides) and his family, 1807-1900 (290 items and 5 vols.); Charles L. Mathews (West Feliciana) and his family, 1797-1902 (1,908 items); John W. Pharr (St. Mary) and his family, 1848-1934 (24,550 items and 361 vols.); Richard L. Pugh (Assumption and Lafourche) and his family, 1844-1900 (282 items and 15 vols.); William W. Pugh (Assumption) and his family, 1830-1912 (100 items and 14 vols.); John H. Randolph (Iberville), 1822-1890 (1,034 items and 15 vols.); Uncle Sam Plantation (St. James), 1815-1914 (30,000 items and 34 vols); and David Weeks (Iberia) and his family, 1782-1894 (20,000 items and 50 vols.).

Papers of Mississippi planters include John Bisland and his family, 1762-1876 (1,161 items and 12 vols.); Eli Capell, 1842-91 (22 diaries); Nathaniel Evans and his family, 1791-1932 (3,475 items and 45 vols.); Alexander K. Farrar and his family, 1804-1931 (2,303 items and 1 vol.); John C. Jenkins and his family, 1840-1900 (89 items, 12 dairies, and 1 account book); J. Burruss McGehee and James Stewart McGehee, 1816-1941 (12,379 items and 63 vols.); and William J. Minor and his family, 1748-1898 (410 items and 37 vols.).

Plantation collections from Arkansas include the Isaac H. Hilliard and family papers, 1756-1924 (173 items and 13 vols.).

Business records include those of George W. Bennett (Rapides), merchant and planter, 1859-1917 (5,000 items and 202 vols.); Consolidated Association of Planters of Louisiana, 1827-

1912 (9,666 items and 85 vols.); Golsan Brothers (Orleans), factors and commission merchants, 1866-76 (15,645 items and 102 vols.); Simon Gumbel (Orleans) and family, factors and commission merchants, 1851-1949 (1,747 items and 83 vols.); noncurrent records of the Southern Pine Association, 1903-48 (300 linear feet); various Louisiana and Mississippi lumber mills and brick companies, *ca.* 1825-1935 (175 linear feet); and various Louisiana and Mississippi banks, *ca.* 1825-1930 (75 linear feet).

Significant groups of State archives, including materials of some predecessor and successor agencies, consist of records of the Board of Control of the Leper Home, 1892-1921 (20,320 items); the Board of Control of the State Penitentiary, 1879-1930 (43,168 items); the Department of Education, 1825-1931 (228,500 items); the Railroad Commission, 1898-1919 (30,-135 items); the Secretary of State, 1873-1930 (81,975 items); the State Auditor, 1823-1933 (44,350 items); and the Executive Department, 1832-1928 (16,670 items). Records of a few of the State's parishes, 1786-1933 (88,218 items) consist chiefly of case papers of district, parish, and probate courts for 6 of the 64 parishes.

A French Traveler's View of Ante-Bellum New Orleans

By HENRY BERTRAM HILL and LARRY GARA

who is Professor of History
at the University of Wisconsin.

who is Chairman of the Department
of History at Grove City College.

FROM COLONIAL TIMES to the present visitors to the Crescent City have been fascinated with the mixture of Old World and New which they have found there. None, perhaps, was more enthusiastic than the French pianist and composer, Henri Herz,¹ whose concert tours brought him to the Americas in 1846. He toured North and South America for five years, visiting and playing in many United States cities along the way from Boston to the lower South. After returning home he penned one of a projected two volumes containing his reactions to and descriptions of life in the Americas.²

Herz described a number of Southern cities in his book but it was New Orleans that delighted him most. Although he was born in Austria he had gone to Paris as a child, had studied at the conservatory there, and always considered himself French. After Herz had visited so many other places, New Orleans seemed almost like home. He was happy to roam its streets and to hear his native language once more. Be-

¹Heinrich Herz (1806-1888) went from his native Austria to Paris as a child prodigy and music student. He identified himself with his adopted homeland and used the name Henri Herz professionally. During his musical career Herz traveled extensively in Europe and America, held a professorship at the Paris Conservatory, twice went into the business of manufacturing fine pianos, and built a concert hall. Although critics have accused him of lacking first-rate artistic ability, his concerts and compositions were very popular in his day. More than two hundred compositions are credited to him. H. C. Colles, (ed.), *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (3rd ed., 5 vols., New York, 1927-1928), II, 620-621.

²*Mes voyages en Amerique* (Paris, 1866). The portion reprinted here was translated from the French by Henry Bertram Hill.

sides giving a brief description of the city Herz included a sympathetic portrait of his fellow countryman, Pierre Soulé.

"I cannot tell how happy I was when I arrived in New Orleans and heard French spoken, saw French faces frequently, and read signs on stores in French. A person must have traveled in distant countries to comprehend the sweet and lively emotion which is evoked by anything that recalls his native land or the land to which he has given his affection and considers his own. I believed myself almost in France itself when I was in the French quarter of New Orleans. Indeed that quarter is like a portion of France which has succeeded in avoiding being swallowed up in the rushing torrent of American civilization.

New Orleans is divided administratively into six quarters or districts. In reality, however, there are only two quarters: the English or American, and the French. They are, to all intents and purposes, two cities in one, two cities perfectly distinct from each other in every respect, from physical appearance to spirit of the inhabitants. In the English quarter, practically nothing but English is spoken, and all the inhabitants are English. The houses there are several stories high, built of brick, and business is king. The French quarter is characterized by its old Creole mansions, by the French language, which is spoken exclusively there, and by a certain easy-going attitude toward life which has nothing in common with the rigid habits and seriousness of the business men of the other quarter. New Orleans is perhaps the only city in the world which possesses this dual aspect in appearance and population, the only city also having two mother tongues taught with equal care in the public schools.

If yellow fever, which at one time or another ravaged Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, had not seemed to have decided to remain permanently in New Orleans, that city would very probably have become the most flourishing and largest city in the Union. But the terrible scourge³ has

³It has been said that the yellow fever was brought to New Orleans in 1769 by an English ship coming from the Antilles with a cargo of slaves. In 1851 some

always partly offset the rising tide of immigration, the principal source of the rapid increase in population in the United States. Most of the immigrants who arrive in New Orleans are in transit. Hardly have they disembarked before they move on toward the agricultural regions of the West, where Germans in particular have been most successful in establishing family farms. But New Orleans, in spite of the yellow fever, has shared in the good fortune which has blessed America. Figures on this subject speak more eloquently than words, so I will let them speak.

In 1785 New Orleans was a city of 4700 inhabitants. In 1810 it counted 17,242 souls. In 1820 the population had risen to 27,176 persons. In 1830, to 46,310; in 1840, to 102,193; and the general census made in 1853 carried the population of the city to 145,497, of whom 29,174 were slaves or free colored men. To this should be added that in 1817 no more than twenty ships plied the waters of the West, while today close to 800 steamboats, as long and wide as warehouses, each with several decks, two stacks as beautiful as monuments, churn the rivers of that rich region and for the most part come down as far as New Orleans.

To what can be attributed the apparent increase in population in a place such as New Orleans which has acquired so few immigrants? Evidently to the large number of marriages, which are more numerous and more fruitful in the United States than in almost any other part of the world. . . . ”⁴

“Like all foreigners who visit the great Louisiana city, I was seized with admiration on seeing the activity which reigned on the docks, literally covered with bales of cotton, casks of sugar, barrels of flour, sacks of cereals, lumber, tobacco, salted meat, etc. It is a world of commission men, speculators, and dealers who argue feverishly in the midst of this piled-up merchandise. Horses, wagons, Negroes, and whites bustled about

9500 victims died of yellow fever in the city, or about one fifth of the population, since hardly more than 50,000 people remained in New Orleans during the summer season. [Herz's note.]

⁴A long commentary on American marriage customs follows.

in an area six hundred feet wide, where half the business of the United States takes place. The *levee*, a sort of dike at New Orleans, serves both the commercial needs and the security of the city, which is built on marshy ground several feet below the level of the ceaselessly menacing river.⁵ This levee is never less than six feet high, with a base fifteen feet wide, and runs down stream to the port of Plaquemine. It makes a long and pleasant promenade in a country where the sky is on fire in summer but where at Christmas time one can see oranges blossoming in the countryside.

When the city is entered by any of the streets which border the river, the water and ships are seen above the level of the ground, and you would shudder at the prospect of being engulfed if you do not know the nature of the city, as at first I did not, being a foreigner who had just arrived. One of my favorite walks in this queen of cities was along the harbor. In the great bend it makes around New Orleans, which for this reason is called the Crescent City, it provides a haven eight miles long and around one and half wide. Unfortunately, the water is not deep enough to permit the largest ships to approach the docks, and they must be loaded and unloaded at Balize. The trans-shipments this involves are handled by small steamers which shuttle about at unbelievable speeds in all directions over this part of the Father of Waters, as the Mississippi is called.

In New Orleans we stopped at the Hotel Saint Charles, a tremendous structure surmounted by a dome modeled after our Pantheon in Paris, but having more modest proportions. I was told (I did not count them myself) that there were 2,000 rooms in that caravanseraï, where all of the languages of all the

⁵Monsieur Anatole Chatelain gives us an idea of the damage occasioned by the overflow of the Mississippi which it is impossible to control at times of great flood. The loss, he says, for the single year 1858 amounted to 15-20,000 barrels of sugar and 25,000-30,000 barrels of mollasses. By figuring the sugar worth \$50 a barrel and the molasses at \$10, and assuming the average barrel to weigh 500 kilograms, we arrive at a total of \$1-1,350,000, a figure which could easily be raised to \$1,500,000 (8 million francs) if the cost of repairing the damage is included. [Herz's note.]

peoples of the world were spoken. Alas, the Hotel Saint Charles has ended as so many great edifices as well as most modest homes all over the United States have ended. Fire, the great national scourge, has since consumed the hotel, and I do not believe it has risen from the ashes, even though it was phoenix-like. . . .”⁶

“In New Orleans I had the rare privilege of knowing Mr. and Mrs. [Pierre] Soulé, whose home was the meeting place of all the distinguished people in the region. Mr. Soulé, born in France of French parents, rose rapidly to the top rank in the legal profession, and he had the unique experience, for a foreigner, of representing the United States as ambassador to Madrid. His learning was as profound as his manner was friendly, and as a master of eloquence he was the equal of Demosthenes, Cicero, and Mirabeau. His glance was fiery, his gesture inspired, his voice melodious, his word choice fitting, his sense of the proper astonishing, his logic implacable, his wealth of expression marvelous, and his bearing attractive, with an ineffable magnetism and spontaneity which captivated everyone. On one occasion I heard Mr. Soulé plead an important case, and I was fascinated by his skillful oratorical talents, which already enjoyed considerable renown in the new world.

Mrs. Soulé, now some years dead, was a worthy companion of the great orator. Endowed with all the graces of her sex, she augmented her beauty by possessing the exquisite manners of an accomplished hostess, a naturally gay spirit, and a skill at playing the piano rare in an amateur. Mr. Soulé was deeply in love with his wife, who in turn profoundly loved him, and it was with her that he clarified his mind and strengthened his spirit before delivering a crucial oration. Indeed, before leaving home to appear in court or mount the rostrum, he besought Mrs. Soulé to play on the piano for him some selection from Beethoven or Mozart, or to read to him a few lines from

⁶Two lengthy anecdotes follow this passage. One tells of a group of free Negroes who requested Herz to play for them. He was advised by his promotor to refuse and did so. The second story concerns the cruelty of a quadron at whose hotel Herz stayed.

Byron, Lamartine, Hugo, or de Musset, his favorite poets. His soul once moved by music or poetry, he felt himself elevated into the spheres of the ideal where his imagination loved to soar, and he spoke then as the prophets spoke, as the oracles spoke. What noble moments I passed in New Orleans in the company of that happy couple, so eminently distinguished for both character and ability!

Since I have spoken about the most eloquent lawyer in New Orleans, I wish in passing, to say what I think about American courts. I must begin by reporting the my introduction was a painful surprise. Nothing in those temples of justice, where everything ought to be solemn and impressive, caught my imagination or inspired my respect. The judges, dressed in ordinary business suits and conducting themselves lackadaisically, seemed to be unaware of the high mission with which they were charged. They can often be seen in bars, elbows on the table, sipping a glass of whiskey while playing dominoes. That is carrying the spirit of democracy to excess, and it is unfortunate that in America the judges are not clothed in a special costume, as they are in France and England. It is also unfortunate that they frequently fail to maintain that gravity which is so essential for the representatives of justice. . . .”⁷

“Several changes having been made in the concert plans so wisely conceived by Ulmann.⁸ Sivori⁹ went in one direction with his triumphant bow, while I went in the other, in an attempt to please those who enjoy piano music. From New Orleans I set sail for Mobile. At the moment when Ulmann and I

⁷Several long stories with dialogue follow this passage. The first tells of Herz’s manager arranging for and carrying out a plan for several concerts of what he called “financial music” with sixteen beautiful ladies from New Orleans playing one selection along with Herz. A second anecdote tells of Herz’s reaction to social ostracism against people who were suspected of having some Negro ancestry.

⁸Bernard Ulmann, a well known impresario, was Herz’s manager during his American tour.

⁹Ernesto Camillo Sivori (1815-1894) was a popular concert violinist who had studied under Paganini. Ulmann had arranged for a series of joint concerts with Herz and Sivori which were to be preceded by individual concerts by both artists.

were about to go on board, we witnessed a dispute between two Creoles over some inconsequential little thing. The two participants, with no thought for the persons about them, and at the risk of wounding innocent bystanders reached in their pockets and drew out revolvers. They exchanged a dozen shots, and this fight in open daylight stopped only when one of the combatants fell with a shattered shoulder. No one seemed the least surprised at such an impromptu duel, and hardly any questions were asked. It is fitting, in this regard, to say that New Orleans has always been notorious for such savage fights, although today they are going out of fashion."

Vignettes

ST. CHARLES THEATER—1837

"The front measured 129 feet from one side to the other, by seventy-six feet high. It was one-half story higher than the adjacent two-story buildings and thus stood out conspicuously among the buildings of the neighborhood. Ten Corinthian columns supported a portico which ran between the second and third floors. Above the portico ten Doric columns carried the decorative effect of the facade up to a pediment which relieved the horizontal lines of the windows of the third floor. The facade was further embellished with lunettes over the first and third floor openings, and with figures of the Muses in high relief in the pediment.

"Five wide doors led into the columned hall, which was flanked by stairways. Each of the four inner floors had a drawing-room, as also had the central hall below. The nineteen boxes on the first floor were latticed, and curtained in rich colors and shut off from the corridors by mahogany doors. The boxes on the first three levels were provided with twelve chairs each. They were used by fashionable families, who usually purchased tickets for the entire season at a cost of \$1000 per box. These were the only parts of the house where ladies sat. The parquet floor was nearly level, but its seats were so arranged as to give every spectator an uninterrupted view of the stage. Here were accommodations for about two hundred persons, all men. Their black evening suits and white shirts were regularly a feature of the St. Charles. Behind the parquet, the pit and the pit-lobby accommodated five hundred persons, chiefly the less socially-distinguished part of the audience.

"The second tier of boxes resembled those on the first tier in general appearance, except that the seven center ones were arranged somewhat in the form of an amphitheater with three hundred cushioned seats, for which tickets could be purchased for individual performances at the same price as the pit seats, and like them were utilized by men only. The four doorways on this level opened into the grand promenade, which was heavily carpeted and adorned with beautiful statues.

"The third tier of boxes were in plan much like those of the second tier. The entrance to the gallery on the fourth tier of seats

was by a stairway at the right of the entrance hall. This floor also had its reception room. The gallery was usually occupied by a mixed audience, including free men of color and slaves who were admitted when provided with permits from their owners.

"In all, there were forty-seven boxes, back of each of which were boudoirs, or rest-rooms, handsomely fitted up.

"From the stage the auditorium presented the appearance of an elongated semicircle, flanked by the boxes. The exterior of the boxes was adorned with scrolls in gold on a background of ivory. Draperies of blue, red and gold adorned the boxes, and hung from brass rods. According to a writer [Connor] . . . 'These damask curtains' were 'the most perfect specimens of ornamental decorations we have ever seen,' and he estimated the cost of them at \$4000. Heavy Doric columns with gilded capitals separated the boxes of the first tier from one another, and supported those of the second. The columns above were of cast-iron, undecorated. The ceiling rounded into a great dome, from the center of which depended the great crystal chandelier which was the pride of the establishment.

"The stage was planned with the greatest care. The orchestra pit was twelve feet deep and extended from one side to the other, across the full width of the stage. The proscenium arch was flanked by double Corinthian columns with bases of imitation Brecchia marble. The outer curtain was of red moreen and hung in deep folds. It could be raised by pulleys. From the curtain to the rear of the stage measured eighty-six feet. It had nine entrances on each side. The wings were so arranged that they hung from the ceiling, and could be drawn together to reduce the size of the stage at will. The depth of the stage was equally adjustable by lowering the flies. The flies usually hung at a level of twenty feet, but they could be raised to a height of forty feet. This facility of adjustment made possible the presentation on the stage of almost every imaginable kind of entertainment, from the most intimate scenes in farce to the grandest interiors, as, for example, when the stage was made to reproduce a great hall forty feet high, eighty-two feet deep, and ninety-six feet long, with rows of columns and scores of gas lights.

"The stage was lighted by gas. On the stage level were two green rooms completely furnished. Stairways on either side of the stage led to the dressing rooms, of which there were twenty-six. The rooms for the wardrobe, scenery and supplies, etc., were reached by these staircases also."

Lucile Gafford, "History of the St. Charles Theater in New Orleans, 1835-1843" (unpublished thesis, University of Chicago), quoted in John S. Kendall, *The Golden Age of the New Orleans Theater* (Baton Rouge, 1952), 114-115.

Louisiana State University

THE EDITORS

INDIAN BALL GAME

"While the Choctas remained here a large Party of Pascagolas Came to play a Match at Ball with them, there were twenty (sic) four players of a Side they made high Betts (sic), & even the Women bet with One Another every rag of Cloathing (sic) they had, and the Winer (sic) Stript (sic) the Looser immediately On the ground, the Men Bet their Horses, Guns, Jewelry &c the first day the Choc-tas Beat the Pascagolas, they played Again two days After Changing the Match a little by leaving Out Some & taking in Others & the Pascagolas Beat; the Points of Game are Twelve, their Agility, & exertion is Astonishing to spectators, & very Interesting, they Often hurt One Another by Blows & falls, Brake (sic) & Deslocate (sic) Bones & Joints, & Sometimes kill One Another, but Never get Angry, or resent Anything that is done in the game of Ball, If one ever discovers any Anger or resentment, he is turned Out as disqualified (sic), & not Suffered to play in a Match Again, which is deemed very disgracefull (sic), a description of the Principles, of the Game, the Instrument Used, the preparations & Rules &c would be Somewhat lengthy and probably would not be deemed worth Noticing here, or I would mention it a (sic) large."

Abstract from the Records of John Sibley, Indian Agent in the Territory of Orleans for the Year 1807 Relative to Indian Affairs, May 26, 1807, Record Group 75, National Archives. (Microfilm copy in possession of the undersigned.)

Louisiana State University

JOYCE PURSER

A YANKEE SOLDIER ON LOUISIANA'S RAINY SEASON

It was our fortune to reach Louisiana during the rainy season. New Orleans seemed to us, after one or two experiences of swamping rains, a wet enough place, but when we were taken out to our first country camp a few miles out of the city, we really realised what damp conditions were. The rain was pretty steady for five or six weeks. I have a memory of the water coming down not in drops but

in continuous streams. Then, as before explained, it did not run off as there was no place to run off to. The river was taking its course over its ridge of hills. I now realized that meaning of a reference that I had before heard to lower Louisiana as the country where there is but one hill and that the river runs over the top of. Our second camp was on a piece of ground which, during a part of the year at least, must have been dry, a few hundred feet back of the levee. Half a mile farther inland, began the swamp which during nine months of the year served to drain the strip of plantation land. During the other three months when the water in the swamp was high, the plantation had to give up any hope of being drained. It was during these "other months" that our experience began. We had tents and after a little experience we learned to dig ditches around the tents, and with some delay on the part of the quartermaster's department, we finally secured planking for floors. While we were waiting for these planks, we lay in the mud. After the flooring of the tents was completed, we were able, with the use of rubber blankets, to keep a little separation between ourselves and the water from below. There were very few tents, however, that were able long to withstand the drench of the tropical rain. Weak points would be discovered and would result in the trickling in of streams of increasing volume. The pressure against the tent of any portion of the occupant's body would at once make a connection with the water outside. Malarious fevers, rheumatic fevers, influenzas, and all the other botherations of damp environment soon took possession of the camp. Guard duty was, of necessity, kept up, but drills and parades were postponed. I remember the discouragement of the men when they attended the first of the funerals. The graves had been dug in ordinary course (and with more care than proved practicable later when the funerals multiplied), but by the time we were prepared to deposit what was left of our comrades, the graves were filled with water. The impression given was that we were living on a raft of inconsiderable thickness and that a very little digging or piercing brought us to the flood below. Men who had lain in the mud with comparative patience became quite discouraged when they realized that they could not sleep dry after death. The Catholics were particularly troubled, I do not yet realise why.

George Haven Putnam, *Memories of My Youth* (New York, 1919), 253-255.

Notes and Comments

PERSONALS

Department of Social Studies, Louisiana Polytechnic Institute: *New Appointment*: Harry Richard Mahood, Ph. D. from the University of Illinois, assistant professor of political science.

Department of History, Louisiana State University in New Orleans: Trygve R. Tholfsen has been appointed chairman of the newly created Department of History; *Research award*: Thomas W. Africa, recipient of an American Council of Learned Societies grant for research on the social history of science in the ancient world.

Department of History, Tulane University: *Promotion*: Thomas L. Karnes to associate professor.

Department of History, Louisiana State University: John L. Loos will be on a $\frac{1}{4}$ time teaching schedule during the second semester of the 1960-61 academic year in order that he may devote additional time to research on his forthcoming work on William Clark, co-leader of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

ALLIED ORGANIZATIONS

In October the East Feliciana Pilgrimage and Garden Club elected the following officers for 1961: Mrs. Howard Schmitt, President; Mrs. P. R. Vick, Vice-President; Mrs. E. O. Munson, Recording Secretary; Mrs. Martyn Young, Corresponding Secretary; Mrs. J. B. Herrod, Treasurer; Mrs. W. W. Overton, Parliamentarian; Mrs. Tom McKenzie, Historian. Mrs. W. I. Spencer was appointed program chairman for 1961. The Club is devoting efforts and funds to the restoration of Marston House, one of the landmarks of East Feliciana Parish.

Recently the Southwest Historical Society was addressed by two distinguished historians. Dr. Jack D. L. Holmes of McNeese State College spoke on the topic "Some Glimpses of Spanish Rule in Natchez," and Dr. Jane L. deGrummond of Louisiana State University spoke to the group on "The Baratarians."

The Morgan City Historical Society recently elected officers for the coming year. The new officers are: Milford Blum, President; Mark Nix, Vice-President; Sally Shelton, Secretary-Treasurer; and

Frances Ratcliff, Historian. Besides numerous individual projects the Society project for the year is trying to obtain Civil War cannons for the newly dedicated Fort Star. The Society also announces that the second edition of *The History of Morgan City*, published in conjunction with the centennial celebration, has been sold out.

The New Orleans Cultural Centre Commission has converted space on the ground floor of Gallier Hall for permanent offices of the League of Women Voters. During the week of November 6, the American Institute of Architects used Gallier Hall for a reception for a Swedish Architect group that was visiting the city. Two worthwhile projects for 1961 have been decided upon, one is for an educational program and the other is a membership drive with the hopes of raising the membership to 2,000. Dues are \$2.00 a year.

MEETINGS

The Southern Historical Association held its twenty-sixth annual meeting in Tulsa, Oklahoma, on November 10, 11, and 12, 1960. Dr. T. Harry Williams of Louisiana State University presided at the annual dinner on Thursday, November 10. Dr. Walter C. Richardson of Louisiana State University presided over a meeting on "Reinterpreting British Parliamentary History," on Thursday. Dr. F. Ray Marshall of the Department of Economics, Louisiana State University, served as discussant of a program on "Business and Labor in the New South." On Friday, November 11, Dr. William C. Binkley of Tulane University presided at the American History Luncheon. Friday morning at a program on "Germany Between the Wars," Dr. Amos E. Simpson of the University of Southwestern Louisiana read a paper entitled, "*Wehrwirtschaft*, Autarky, and the Four-Year Plan," and Dr. Henry E. Friedlander of Louisiana State University in New Orleans read a paper entitled, "Conflict of Revolutionary Authority: Provisional Government vs. Berlin Soviet, November-December 1918." On Saturday morning Dr. W. Burlie Brown of Tulane University read a paper on "A Case Study in Cooperation between Secondary and College History Teachers" on a program on "Recent Developments and Problems in High School and College History Teaching." Also on Saturday morning, Dr. Jack D. L. Holmes of McNeese State College read a paper entitled, "The Spanish-American Struggle over the Yazoo, 1789-1798." At the business meeting on Thursday the following were elected officers for the coming year: Clement Eaton, University of Kentucky, President; Rembert W. Pat-

rick, University of Florida, Vice-President; and Bennett H. Wall, University of Kentucky, Secretary-Treasurer.

MISCELLANY

Governor James H. Davis has appointed a Civil War Centennial Commission to arrange Louisiana's celebrating of the one hundredth anniversary of the War Between the States. Heading the commission as chairman is Senator Sylvan Friedman of Natchez, Louisiana, representing the eighth Congressional district. T. Harry Williams, Civil War authority and Boyd professor of history at Louisiana State University, representing the sixth Congressional district, was named vice-chairman. Other members of the commission are: Fritz Sweigart, New Orleans, representing the first Congressional district; Representative Bryan Lehmann of Norco, representing the second Congressional district; Alcide Broussard, Erath, representing the third Congressional district; Mrs. Frank Fava, Shreveport, representing the fourth Congressional district; Mrs. J. B. Shackleford of Jones, representing the fifth Congressional district; and Representative Jesse Knowles of Lake Charles, representing the seventh Congressional district. Also on the Commission is John E. Regard of Marksville, Director of State Archives and Records Commission.

Roland Marquette, clerk of court of Assumption Parish, announced recently that the translation of the Assumption Parish conveyance records from French into English has been completed. The work was a two-year project started by the late Francis Rodrigue, former clerk of court of Assumption. Mrs. Clyde Simmons did the translating.

Marriage Contracts of Natchitoches, 1739-1803, consisting of more than one hundred translated and abstracted records from Natchitoches, the oldest permanent settlement in Louisiana, will be released in January, 1961. The work also includes a glossary of archaic and colloquial French terms, and a complete name index. The publication consists of approximately ninety pages of standard 6 x 9 size and is bound in a hard case cover. Winston De Ville, co-author of *Marriage Contracts of the Opelousas Post, 1766-1803* with Jacqueline O. Vidrine, is the author of this work. Only 125 copies will be available for sale at the price of \$10.00. Pre-publication price is \$7.50. Copy may be reserved by writing the author at P. O. Box 1714, Easton, Louisiana.

Bossier Parish organized what is thought to be the first Civil War Centennial Commission on a parish or county basis in the United

States in September. The Bossier Parish Police Jury and Lions Club pointed out that it was proper for Bossier Parish to create the first such commission since the parish was the first to secede. On November 26, 1860, a group of irate Bossier citizens met at Rocky Mount and passed a secession ordinance and organized the Minute Men of Bossier Parish. John A. Manry and Arthur W. Phillips were named as chairman and co-chairman of the commission which adopted the official title of Bossier Civil War Centennial and Historical Landmarks Commission.

On October 28, Oregon held its first formal observance of the Civil War Centennial at the sixty-third annual dinner of the Oregon Historical Society. Guest speaker for the occasion was T. Harry Williams, Louisiana State University.

On October 14, Dr. Jack D. L. Holmes of McNeese State College spoke before the Civil War Roundtable of Houston. His topic was "When the Forrests Raided Memphis."

The twenty-third series of the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History will be held at Louisiana State University on April 10 and 11, 1961. The speaker will be Dr. Clement Eaton, noted Southern historian of the University of Kentucky. The subject of the lectures will be "The Mind of the Old South." Individual lectures will be as follows: "Maunsel White of Louisiana and the Commercial Mind;" "James H. Hammond of South Carolina and the Conservative Mind;" and "Henry A. Wise of Virginia and the Liberal Mind." The lectures are sponsored yearly by the Graduate School and the Department of History of Louisiana State University.

In Memoriam

JOSEPH ROGER BAUDIER

(1893 - 1960)

Louisiana lost its most authoritative, prolific and versatile church historian on November 12, 1960, when death claimed Joseph Roger Baudier, Sr., at Hotel Dieu in New Orleans.

A self-taught writer, researcher, and ecclesiologist, Roger Baudier was born in the heart of the Vieux Carré on July 30, 1893, the son of John Alexandre Baudier and Louise Angela Baudier. Orphaned twice by the time he was six years old, he attended St. Philip School in New Orleans where he was writing and directing school plays although still in the elementary grades. In 1909 he decided to study for the priesthood under the Franciscan Fathers in Santa Barbara, California. Finding that his interests lay elsewhere, he left the seminary to teach in a Franciscan school in Watsonville, California, where he remained until 1918. After trying six times to enlist in World War I, he was finally assigned as a French interpreter to headquarters of the Eighth Division. The Armistice was signed before he could be transferred overseas. After various assignments in the army he returned to New Orleans in May, 1919.

Roger Baudier earned his livelihood during the 1920's in various clerical positions and, at the same time, found an outlet for his writing talents by contributing articles to periodicals and by publishing or editing a number of trade journals and house organs, among which were *The Boomerang* (athletic magazine for the Southern Pacific Railway), *Columbia* (a magazine for Council 714, Knights of Columbus, of which he was a member from 1923 until his death), *The Mixer* (bakery trade journal), *The Southern Plumber*, *The Southwestern Miller* (baker's weekly) and in his last years, *The Dough Boy* (bakers' magazine which he edited from 1949 to 1960). At his best when writing serially, Roger Baudier in his early journalistic days wrote lengthy articles on "Bread-making Customs of Indians of the Southwest", "Sanitation in New Orleans", the flour industry in Louisiana colonial days, and on baking in the first years of New Orleans. These helped to establish his reputation as a competent and meticulous researcher. Always willing to contribute his talents to the church, he became associate editor of *St. Ann's Herald* in 1927

and, four years later, published his first book "The Story of Saint Ann". He later became editor of the *Herald* and probably his last published article was his editorial for the Christmas 1960 issue, written on his deathbed.

When *Catholic Action of the South*, the official organ of the Archdiocese of New Orleans and, in time, of the suffragan sees of Lafayette, Alexandria and Natchez, was launched in late 1932, Roger Baudier was named associate editor. Two years later he became editor, a position he held until his resignation on May 1, 1949. He continued through the 1950's to contribute important historical articles to the paper. His weekly column "Historic Old New Orleans", a series of perceptive vignettes on Creole life, was a popular feature in *Catholic Action* from 1934 until the month of his death. He was often urged to publish the series in book form but apparently could not find time to attempt the task. Indeed, those who knew Roger Baudier best and kept up with his literary output often wondered how he found time for his myriad interests and projects. Over the years, he served on some 120 boards and committees and wrote at least 40 monographs on church parishes and institutions in Louisiana. Actually he was writing history each working day since his newspaper editorials and magazine articles almost invariably showed his penchant for placing issues, events, and facts in historical perspective. Practically every notable anniversary of the Catholic church in Louisiana and Mississippi since the 1930's engaged the services of Roger Baudier either in the field of public relations or as writer of a commemorative volume or brochure. Sometimes he acted in both capacities, as was the case with the Eighth National Eucharistic Congress held in New Orleans in 1938. Besides providing news media with background information he compiled and designed the handsome, richly illustrated 657-page Congress book published in 1941.

Roger Baudier's claim to fame, however, rests on his monumental history entitled *The Catholic Church in Louisiana*. A collector's item, this *magnum opus* was the product of decades of specialized reading and incessant research. Always a welcome guest in every rectory and chancery, Roger Baudier over a period of more than five years personally sifted through and catalogued hundreds of parish records, memoirs, manuscripts, minute books, old prints, photographs, and other archives whose historical value he was often the first to recognize and, more important, to utilize. At his own expense, he procured copies and photostats of documents and papers from Paris, Cuba,

Spain, Canada, the Vatican and other depositories. The essential value of the history and of the efforts which produced it lies in the vast richness of the primary sources which Roger Baudier was the first to tap.

The genesis of what is now known to students simply as "Baudier's History," or simply as "Baudier," is best traced by the author himself in his foreword:

To fill a longfelt need among librarians, journalists, teachers, professors of history, writers, research workers, the clergy and religious and the public in general as well, for a complete history of the Catholic Church in the state of Louisiana, the author undertook the laborious task of compiling such a work at the suggestions of the late Most Reverend John W. Shaw, D.D., Archbishop of New Orleans, who likewise felt the need for a continuous account of Catholicism in this lower end of of the Mississippi Valley. In preparing this work, the author has sought for practical purposes to offer such an account within the confines of a single volume and to present the data he has collected in a simple, chronological form, embracing the entire life of the Church in this section.

As a basic reference work on the church in Louisiana, Baudier's history will perdure. Unfortunately, its 602 pages are typographically poor by present standards and were inadequately bound. More serious yet, only 1,500 copies were issued and there has been no second edition. Having spent many years in assembling a mass of material, the author regrettably did not devote a proportionate amount of time to evaluating it and to polishing his style, as well as infusing into the book that unity, emphasis and cohesiveness which characterized his subsequent writings. He was, of course, the first to admit that he had produced mainly the skeleton of the history of the church in Louisiana and that someone else would, in time, give it flesh, texture, and color. Perhaps in supplying this framework, Roger Baudier was more a competent chronicler than he was the professional historian so well described by Hilaire Belloc in *The Crisis of Civilization*: "Truth lies in proportion. You do not tell an historical truth by merely stating a known fact; nor even by stating a number of facts in a certain and true order. You can tell it justly only by stating the known things in the order of their values."

After the publication of his history, Roger Baudier became the leading and ultimate authority on ecclesiology in Louisiana. His selfless generosity in sharing his research findings; his promptness in answering exhaustively inquiries on church matters both ancient and

recent; his good humor in heated discussions on moot questions of local history; his skill as a raconteur which even the removal of his larynx could not dull; all these made him one of New Orleans' best loved and admired citizens and a highly appreciated member of the Catholic community. The seminarians, priests, nuns, and laymen whom he voluntarily assisted in the preparation of masters' theses and doctoral dissertations, the scholars with whom he corresponded on both sides of the Atlantic, and the historians who appealed to him for authoritative and definitive information, were legion. In recognition for these and other services, Notre Dame Seminary in New Orleans conferred on him an honorary doctorate in 1958. In 1943 Pope Pius XII had made him a Knight of St. Gregory and, in 1949, the French Ministry of Education conferred the title of Officer d'Academie with the *Palmes Academiques*. Within a month after he surrendered his post as editor of the diocesan paper, he was named "Official Chronicler of the Archdiocese of New Orleans" by Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel. Perhaps, of all the honors and accolades bestowed on him, this is the title which Joseph Roger Baudier, Sr., K.S.G., LL.D., cherished and deserved the most.

THE RIGHT REVEREND MONSIGNOR HENRY C. BEZOU
St. Patrick's Church, New Orleans

Book Reviews

THE LONGS OF LOUISIANA. By Stan Opotowsky. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1960, 271 pp. Illustrations, index. \$4.50.)

This book places the emphasis on the Long family in Louisiana politics without detracting from Huey's part in founding the political dynasty. It is an unusual record. Senator Russell Long occupies the seat in the United States Senate once held by his father and mother. An uncle, George Long, was elected three times to Congress from the eighth district. An uncle, Earl Long, was elected governor twice, lieutenant governor once, and was Congressman-designate when he died. As lieutenant governor, Earl K. Long succeeded to the governorship on the resignation of Richard W. Leche, and served eleven months. Earl served as governor eight years and eleven months, which is longer than any other governor of the state of Louisiana. In addition, an aunt of Russell's was appointed to the state school board; Mrs. Earl Long was Democratic national committeewoman from Louisiana; and numerous cousins have served in various offices such as the state legislature, college president, and special appointive jobs. For thirty years, the Congressmen and United States Senators from Louisiana have had the Long blessings at some time, with one possible exception.

The author has told the fascinating story in the usual newspaper man's style, and has portrayed both the comic and tragic aspects. He has repeated most of the press reports and has added his own insight or evaluation of the character of Huey, Earl and Russell. Sometimes the author erred in attributing originality to Huey. An example (pp. 65-66) is the inscription on an East Carroll Parish tombstone:

"Remember, men, as you pass by
So as you are, so once was I.
So as I am, you must be
Prepare to die and follow me'.

"But the wife who put the tombstone up did not want to be bound by what was on it, and so, as a saving grace to herself, she wrote two more lines:

"To follow you I'm not content
Until I know which way you went'."

This inscription is on a tombstone in the churchyard at Jamestown, Virginia, and the old Negro adds the two lines for the amusement of visitors. A tourist guide in Boston repeats the identical story.

The author has an easy flowing style and he has produced a readable volume. He has done an excellent job of selecting events to enhance the readers interest. The lively narrative is marred by a number of slips. Only a few of these errors need be enumerated. On page 33 "Tilson" is used for "Tison"; "Huey's new superintendent of education" (p. 46) was T. H. Harris, who had been in office twenty years by 1928 when Huey was elected governor; "Southeastern College" (p. 121) when "Southwestern" was evidently meant; Earl was elected lieutenant governor in 1936 and not 1934 (p. 140) George W. Hardy, Jr. was mayor of Shreveport and not Alexandria (p. 245). Then the impression is left (p. 122) that James Monroe Smith's speculation was in Kentucky bourbon, whereas his big speculation was in wheat. The United States Supreme Court only gave Louisiana title to the land extending three miles into the Gulf of Mexico (p. 164), and Louisiana contended for ten and one half miles as was given to Texas and Florida.

It is doubtful whether the Long story is as amusing to informed natives of Louisiana as it is to residents of other states. But it will have a market.

Louisiana Polytechnic Institute

G. W. McGINTY

THE FALL OF RICHMOND. By Rembert W. Patrick. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1960. x, 144 pp. Illustrations. \$4.00.)

In their enthusiasm to commemorate the years 1861 to 1865, writers are delving widely and deeply in search of something new. Since the main facts of these Civil War years have long ago been told and retold, significant segments are now being manified into full-length books—for instances, the day Lincoln was murdered, the second day at Gettysburg, and here the three days encompassing the fall of Richmond. It is not intended to imply that these activities are not worth while. Indeed, they may be subjects of great interest and importance, too. And so it is with Professor Patrick's effort.

It was a happy inspiration that led Patrick to record in these three lectures, delivered at Louisiana State University in the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lecture Series, the death throes of the Confederacy:

the first, "Evacuation, April 2"; the second, "The Day that Richmond Fell, April 3"; and the third, "Occupied City, April 4." With the play of an imagination properly restrained by the actual facts dug out of the contemporary records (official documents, newspapers, diaries, letters, reminiscences), Patrick gives a close-up account of what happened during these three days, even to note that Jefferson Davis, on his way to church, glanced down at his "polished but worn boots," and to opine what must have gone on in the minds of the people.

It is a moving account, both sentimentally at times and rushing on to what comes next. Such subjects as the destruction of the city, followed by rioting and looting mobs and the occupation of Richmond by Federal troops make high drama in this account. Personalities are sprinkled throughout, introduced in flesh and blood reality. There is Elizabeth Van Lew ("Crazy Bet"), the Union sympathizer and "Confederate traitor," who lasted out the war in Richmond, and the amusing account of the spunky Emma Mordecai in search of her mule and saddle, and, of course, Abraham Lincoln's visit on the third day; and the book closes with the vivid picture of his progress through the ruined city. *The Fall of Richmond* may well take its place as one of the best in the Fleming Lecture Series.

University of Georgia

E. MERTON COULTER

THE STORY OF THE ORIGINAL DIXIELAND JAZZ BAND.

By H. O. Brunn. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1960. xx, 268 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$5.00.)

This is the first authentic history of the New Orleans band which became nationally and internationally famous and which made the whole world jazz-conscious. As a new form of music, jazz was revolutionary, but the first recording of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band sold more than a million copies, and made the band nationally famous within a few months. This group of young men were the first to make a jazz phonograph record, first to broadcast jazz by radio, and first to carry jazz across the Atlantic. In all parts of the country, the commercial possibilities of jazz music were recognized by other orchestra leaders who converted from ragtime to jazz almost immediately.

The phenomenal success of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band obscured all other bands of the period. The most highly paid dance orchestra in the world, its success was the result of a unique com-

bination of timing, arrangement, and individual virtuosity. Today after more than four decades, it has become legendary.

Unfortunately, for the immediate future of jazz, the Dixieland Band's would-be competitors cared little about artistic musical value: the nosier they played, the more popular they became, or vice versa. Imitators were unable to divine the secret that set the original combination apart from all others for other jazz bands at that time were poor imitations and eventually were failures.

The five young men of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band—Nick LaRocca, Eddie Edwards, Larry Shields, Henry Ragas, and Tony Sbarbaro—began their rise to fame in Chicago. A combination of what proved to be happy circumstances brought the group to the Windy City. The meeting place for musicians in New Orleans was Exchange Place, between Canal and Bienville streets, especially Paul Blum's Cafe. Here young musicians of the day congregated to obtain jobs. The best contact for a job at this time was a parade band drummer by the name of Jack "Papa" Laine, who managed five different bands, and there was enough demand to keep them all simultaneously active. Nick LaRocca and Eddie Edwards frequently went to "Exchange Alley" to pick up an occasional job and it was Jack Laine who first recognized the ability of young LaRocca and made him the leader of his Number One band. Harry James, a Chicago cafe owner, came to New Orleans to witness a prize fight, and he heard one of Laine's bands. After the fight, he returned to Chicago, and in February, 1916, he wired Johnny Stein to bring his band to the Booster's Club in Chicago. After two weeks of rehearsals at Johnny Stein's house, the band, composed of Stein, LaRocca, Edwards, Nunez, and Ragas left for Chicago on March 1, 1916. Unfortunately, the Booster's Club had been closed by police order a few days before they arrived; but through the further efforts of Harry James, they secured an audition at Schiller's Cafe on the south side of the city. Their music "went over," and by eleven o'clock on Saturday, opening night, the club was filled to capacity. The band was soon the talk of Chicago night life. Stein's Dixieland Jazz Band was the forerunner of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band.

Despite the prosperity of Schiller's Cafe, no salary increases were forthcoming for Stein's Band, and the members found it increasingly difficult to live on twenty-five dollars a week. LaRocca and Edwards convinced Nunez and Ragas that the time had come to move. By the unanimous consent of these four musicians, it was decided to forsake Schiller's in favor of a higher-salaried engagement elsewhere in town.

Stein refused to take a chance on breaking the contract. An argument ensued, and on May 26, 1916, the rebellious four left Schiller's Cafe. Then it was that the Original Dixieland Jazz Band came into being.

At the instigation of their friend and admirer Al Jolson, the band migrated to New York City early in 1917. Within days after they made their first appearance at Reisenweber's Restaurant, they were in great demand all over the metropolitan area. When the first jazz record was released by Victor in March, 1917, the fame of the group spread rapidly across the continent. This record sold more than one million copies, topping by far the best efforts of Caruso and Sousa's Band, Victor's previous headliners.

The band then went to London where they played to packed crowds for more than a year and did a command performance for King George V. They were the hit of the Victory Ball, celebrating the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, attended by Marshal Foch, General Pershing, General Petain, and many of the crown heads of Europe.

Back in New York in the early twenties, the group maintained its position as the most sought-after jazz band. Hit record followed hit record. Church groups and eager politicians, however, accused jazz of corrupting the morals of the young. The Cotillo Act of 1922 outlawed jazz after midnight in New York City, thus ruining business for jazz musicians in the very capitol of the jazz world. These factors and dissension among members of the band led to the breakup of the band in 1924.

The band reorganized in 1936, and a *March of Time* film in 1937 gave a pictorial account of their spectacular career. Internal friction, however, again caused the breakup of the band, this time forever, in January, 1939.

The Story of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band is extremely well written, very readable, and most entertaining. In tracing the development of the band, the author presents a well-documented history of jazz music's stimulation of the "jazz age." The book has a number of very interesting photographs and lists in a series of tables personnel of early New Orleans bands and recordings of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band. The story of the band is really the story of Nick LaRocca, and the author had the advantage of having access to much of LaRocca's personal material. The book is a *must* for all jazz enthusiasts and a valuable addition to Louisiana social and cultural history.

Louisiana State University

JOHN A. HUNTER

KATE: The Journal of a Confederate Nurse. By Kate Cumming. Edited by Richard Barksdale Harwell. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959. xx, 307 pp. Name and place index only. \$6.00.)

Kate Cumming, in addition to a warm heart and firm moral convictions, possessed an observing eye and an uncommon quantity of common sense. It is these latter qualities which make her journal a real treasure, for she portrays the fortunes of the Confederacy with remarkable acuity. Hers is no impartial account. She was firmly convinced that God and Right were on the side of the South, and she found difficulty in understanding why the Northerners fought. In the beginning she was sure the South would win, and even as the tide of war turned steadily in favor of the North, she still had difficulty conceiving that the South could lose.

Yet Kate Cumming was far more realistic than many of the refined and gentle members of her sex whose sense of delicacy would not permit them to work in a hospital, and who remained at home writing purple prose exhorting their men folk to die to the last man before giving up the blood-drenched soil of the South. Within the first few months of war, Kate Cumming had seen too many wounded die in agony, had seen too much gore, and had smelled the ghastly odor of festering wounds too often to have any illusions as to what dying meant. While she might wonder why, she recognized that rightly or wrongly, the Yankees honestly believed they were fighting to save the Union. As the weary and decimated Southern armies doggedly fought on through 1864, Kate Cumming's journal shows that while she still hoped for victory, even more she desperately wanted peace and an end to bloodshed.

Incredible as it may seem, with the South hopelessly short of manpower, Kate Cumming and her fellow nurses constantly had to fight harrassment from the men who felt that a woman's place was in the home and from women who maintained their virtue, moral courage, and lady-like qualities by never putting them to the test. In addition, Miss Cumming faced the opposition of her family, but once she had seen the desperate needs of the wounded, she never questioned where her duty lay. In September of 1863, Miss Cumming commented rather bitterly upon the letter of an Alabama lady to one of the newspapers urging all Southern men and women to do their duty. The lady had declared in her appeal that none but native Southerners should hold office in the Confederacy. As a Scottish-born adopted Southerner,

this was a sore point with Miss Cumming, who remarked acidly that "if the native southerners, who, when the war was first inaugurated, used to wear their blue badges, and cry 'secession and war to the knife,' had come forward as I know foreigners have done, we would not now be in need of the late earnest appeal for men, by our beloved President." As for those who constantly wrote and talked about duty, Miss Cumming noted wryly, "I only hope these ladies are *doing* as well as talking. . . ."

Other men and women have recorded the rise and fall of the South, but Miss Cumming's account has particular significance for its insight into the Confederate medical service. She witnessed and described the confusion, delays, and needless suffering of the early months; yet her journal also shows the rapid development of a remarkably effective medical corps. Any one familiar with the medical and surgical history of the war will recognize how faithfully she has portrayed it.

Her first experience with hospitals came in Corinth, Mississippi, in April of 1862. Here she noted in her diary one day that a young man whose arm was to be amputated was convinced that he would die, "as all who have had limbs amputated in this hospital have died," to which she added: "It is but too true; such is the case." To the despair of the surgeons, as the wounded poured in, terrible outbreaks of blood-poisoning spread through the army hospitals. As gangrene, erysipelas, and other infections mounted, surgeons on both sides in the early months of the war resorted to wholesale amputations with the result that fatalities soared.

Over and above the medical problems proper were those of organization. About a month after she began her work, Miss Cumming noted with horror one of the grim mistakes which occurred too frequently in the early days of the war. The hospital pharmacist, while taking a walk late one night, was attracted by the sound of groans. On investigating, he found a box car full of dead, dying, and badly wounded men which had been switched on to a sidetrack and forgotten.

Happily these instances became rarer as the war progressed, and the reader of the journal cannot help but be impressed by the way in which order emerged from the chaos and confusion. Within a few months, army hospitals were operating at peak capacity, and it is evident that Southern soldiers on the whole received the best medical

care available at the time. That this was accomplished in a time of shortages and in the face of steady retreats is all the more remarkable.

In glancing back over her work, this reviewer is amazed by the fact that Miss Cumming, whose participation in the war necessarily restricted her overall view, should have seen so clearly those truths which George Adams, H. H. Cunningham, and other modern historians have labored so hard and long to establish. That Kate Cumming's journal is an invaluable historical source is self-evident, but even more than this, it is a fascinating book. The editor and the Louisiana State University Press are to be highly commended.

Graduate School of Public Health
University of Pittsburg

JOHN DUFFY

GENERALS IN GRAY: Lives of the Confederate Commanders. By Ezra J. Warner. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959. xxvii, 420 pp. Illustrations, appendices, bibliography. \$7.50.)

Mr. Warner has successfully augmented the standard biographical reference sources. The effectiveness of his work may be fully appreciated after reading the cogent statement of the problem of adequate classification criteria in the introduction. Who was or was not a "general", C.S.A.? The author's selection of 425 Confederate officers of general grade would seem to be adequate.

While following a stereotyped model of presentation for each of the biographical sketches, a unique element is added by the collection of likenesses for each of the generals save one. In addition the scrupulous attention paid to the manner of death, place of death, and final resting place of these officers reflects the writer's meticulous efforts to obtain materials not previously published. In this regard, full use has been made of private papers and hitherto unexploited records.

Generals in Gray is perhaps most important for what is not stated directly. When the reader has a grasp of the book as a whole, several striking generalizations become apparent. The caliber of the men who rose to command in the Confederate armies and their post bellum accomplishments exemplified this point. It is significant to note that the same individuals that earned the wreath and stars of military leadership assumed places of civilian leadership after Appomattox. Few other leaders of a lost revolution can lay claim to such distinction.

Of particular interest to Louisiana historians is the twenty-odd Con-

federate general officers who were native sons or former residents or served in the Trans-Mississippi Department. The natives of Louisiana listed are: Henry Hopkins Sibley, Leroy Augustus Stafford, Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard, Louis Hebert, Paul Octave Hebert, Jean Jacques Alexander Mouton and Francis Redding Tillou Nicholls.

Ezra J. Warner has created a valuable addition to the published biographical reference sources. This volume, produced by an amateur, a Civil War "buff", is gratifying evidence that the non-professional historian can escape the dilettant epithet.

Louisiana State University in New Orleans

O. E. LOVELL, JR.

ANNUAL MESSAGE

OF

Robert C. Wickliffe,

GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF LOUISIANA,

TO THE

GENERAL ASSEMBLY



BATON ROUGE:
J. M. TAYLOR, STATE PRINTER.
1860.

MESSAGE

OF THE

Governor of the State of Louisiana.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives

of the State of Louisiana :

The condition of the State Treasury, according to the Report of the Auditor, shows a balance, on the 1st of January, 1860, of \$133,696 09, to the credit of the General Fund.

The receipts into the State Treasury for the ensuing year for account of the General Fund, are estimated at \$1,205,000. Making a sum total of \$1,338,696 09.

The estimated expenditures for the same period, including the unexpended balances, amount to \$1,174,553 32. Showing a balance to the credit of that fund, on the 31st of March, 1861, of \$164,142 77; exhibiting a far more prosperous condition of the finances of the State than has been presented for eight years.

It will, therefore, be seen that, without increasing the rate of taxation, the annually increasing revenues of the State will enable her to meet promptly all the wants of Government.

INVESTMENTS OF TRUST FUNDS.

The following investments of the Trust Funds of the State were made during the year 1859 :

Free School Fund.

111 City Bonds of \$1,000 each, at a cost of.....\$97,879 50

Redemption of State Debt Fund.

25 State Bonds, of \$500 each, at a cost of.....\$11,489 50

These Bonds, at their par value, having preference over all others.

BONDS ISSUED TO RAILROAD COMPANIES DURING THE YEAR 1859.

To the New Orleans, Opelousas and Great Western Railroad Company, 10 Bonds of \$1,000.....	\$10,000 00
Issued previously, 621 Bonds of \$1,000.....	621,000 00
Total amount issued.....	\$631,000 00
To the New Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern Railroad Company, (none issued).	
Issued previously, 884 Bonds of \$1,000.....	\$884,000 00
Total amount issued.....	\$884,000 00
To the Vicksburg, Shreveport and Texas Railroad Company, 29 Bonds of \$1,000.....	\$29,000 00
Issued previously, 174 Bonds of \$1,000.....	174,000 00
Total amount issued.....	\$203,000 00
To the Baton Rouge, Opelousas and Grosse Tête Railroad, 5 Bonds of \$1,000.....	\$5,000 00
Previously issued.....	56,000 00
Total amount issued.....	\$61,000 00

RECAPITULATION.

Bonds issued during 1859, 44 Bonds of \$1,000.....	\$44,000 00
Previously issued, 1,735 Bonds of \$1000.....	1,735,000 00
Total.....	\$1,779,000 00

ESTIMATE FILED IN AUDITOR'S OFFICE OF BONDS REQUIRED FOR THE YEAR 1860.

By the Vicksburg, Shreveport and Texas Railroad Company..	\$113,311 00
By the New Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern Railroad Company.....	111,000 00
By the Baton Rouge, Grosse Tête and Opelousas Railroad Company.....	19,000 00
By the New Orleans, Opelousas and Great Western Railroad Company.....	50,000 00
Total estimate 293 Bonds.....	\$293,311 00

You will perceive that the total amount of Bonds issued by the State to Railroad Companies, amount to \$1,779,000. No provision has yet been made for the ultimate payment of these Bonds at maturity, or for the payment of \$483,000 Bonds issued to the New Orleans and Nashville Railroad Company, due 1st April 1867—and \$100,000 Bonds issued to the Mexican Gulf Railroad, due in 1870. I now renew the recommendation in my last annual message, that the Legislature take the necessary steps to

provide for these debts of the State, by the creation of a *Reserved Fund*, to be appropriated to that purpose, and would suggest that this fund might be provided without the necessity of a resort to any increase of taxation. The Internal Improvement Tax Fund, which was created for the purpose of meeting the interest on the Bonds issued to the railroad companies, and fixed at one-fourth of one mill on the dollar, or 25 cents on \$1,000, it is found, meets the interest on the Bonds, and leaves a surplus annually in the Treasury ; that surplus now amounts to near \$100,000, and it is estimated will be increased by the 1st of January, 1861, about \$50,000. By creating a fund for the "Redemption of Bonds issued to Railroad Companies," and investing the present surplus of the Internal Improvement Tax Fund in the Bonds of the State, annually appropriating the surplus that may appear to the Internal Improvement Tax Fund, and semi-annually investing in like manner the interest accruing on the Bonds held by the "Redemption Fund," and permanently fixing the Internal Improvement Tax at its present low rate, it is believed, will very nearly, if not entirely, liquidate the debt of the State for account of Railroad Companies.

RAILROADS.

But little progress has been made in the extension of our principal Railroads, since my last annual message. The New Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern Railroad remains completed as far as Canton, Mississippi, and the road way formation, for the first twenty-six miles, north of Canton, will soon be ready for receiving the superstructure and iron.

This corporation has always held a leading position among our Railroad enterprises. Its form of organization, its financial schemes and its general policy have been more or less adopted by other companies, and, for the most part, with advantage. It has probably been managed with less prudence and economy than some other railroad works, but at the same time, the road has been pressed forward with zeal, energy and fertility of resources under pressing difficulties, seldom equalled in any section of the country.

This Railroad is completed 206 miles, intersecting the Mississippi Central Railroad at Canton, thus securing to New Orleans an unbroken railroad communication with the whole railroad system of the United States, and at once realizing the anticipations of the original projectors.

Although so much has been accomplished, yet only one half the labor undertaken by the company has been performed ; their plan was to build a continuous railroad to the Tennessee River, 410 miles from the city of New Orleans. On reaching Canton, however, the Company find they have exhausted their available subscriptions, and have contracted, on long time, a bonded debt of \$3,000,000. Under these circumstances, the Company are admonished that their franchises in Mississippi determine by law in March, 1862, and that it will be necessary to procure an extension of time, in order to recruit its resources, and establish a financial credit equal to the magni-

tude of the work yet to be performed. In view of these facts, propositions of the most unfriendly nature have been introduced into the Legislature of the State of Mississippi at its present sitting, whereby it is proposed that the necessary relief should not be granted, except under conditions of the most humiliating nature, and utterly subversive of the credit and future existence of the Corporation. What is most remarkable, is that this movement is not supported by the rival railroad interests of Mississippi, but by those who should be the fast friends of our enterprise, those who represent the counties traversed by the proposed Railroad, north of Canton, those who, of all others, are most interested in, and anxious for the extension of the Railroad, impatient, as it would appear, at unavoidable delay, suspicious of the honest purposes of the Company to complete their work, and perform faithfully other obligations to the State of Mississippi, this unnatural course has, it may be inferred, been adopted with the view of intimidating the Corporation, driving it from its manifest policy, and thereby making it more certain of local interest.

I will be able to lay before you at an early day the documentary evidence which has suggested the foregoing remarks. No Legislature is responsible for matter which may be laid before it, however unreasonable or unjust, but only for its action on such matter. I feel the highest confidence that the Legislature of Mississippi will not knowingly do an unjust or unfriendly act towards this Corporation ; but in view of the magnitude of the interest involved in maintaining, unimpaired, the credit and efficiency of the Company, and placing its corporate perpetuity and the validity of its contracts beyond all future doubt or cavil, I would earnestly recommend that the State of Mississippi be officially requested to grant to said company sufficient additional time to complete their railroad, and that no forfeiture of franchise shall attach to any portion of the said railroad which has been or may be hereafter faithfully completed.

The New Orleans, Opelousas, and Great Western Railroad is completed to Berwick Bay, where it unites with a tri-weekly line of steamers which run from the Bay to Galveston. The Board of Directors have placed a considerable amount of additional work under contract, west of Berwick Bay, and have a well-matured financial scheme for the completion of their great enterprise, which terminates at Thompson's Bluffs, on the Sabine River ; after crossing the river, the New Orleans, Opelousas, and Great Western Railroad unites with the Texas Great Western, and the Sabine and Rio Grande Railroads ; the former running North-westwardly and connecting with the Southern Pacific Railroad, at its crossing on the Brazos River ; and the latter southwestwardly, nearly parallel with the shore of the Gulf of Mexico, to San Antonio. The prudent management of the affairs of this company and the liberality of the State of Texas, in the granting of franchise, subscriptions and substantial endowments to her

railroads leading to our western border, secures a bright prospect for the New Orleans, Opelousas and Great Western Railroad Company, inestimable blessings to a large portion of the people of Louisiana and Texas, and oriental wealth to the commerce of New Orleans.

The Vicksburg, Shreveport and Texas Railroad is progressing. The first twenty miles from Vicksburg are in daily use, and it is anticipated that the first grand division of the road will be finished and ready for transporting the next cotton crop of that district. The construction of the entire line of the railroad to its union with the Southern Pacific Railroad on the Texas border, has been contracted for by responsible parties, and the work will be prosecuted as rapidly as the financial abilities of the company will permit. It is true much less work has been done on this line of railroad than on the two railroads before reviewed, but it must be remembered that the Vicksburg and Shreveport Railroad passes through a comparatively new and thinly settled country, and that it has not, like the Great Northern and Great Western Railroads, received powerful aid in the form of private and city corporate subscription. As the road progresses the valuable donations of public lands, made by Congress (though impaired by Act of Congress of 3d March, 1857,) will become valuable assets for future extension; besides the country is increasing daily in population and wealth, which additional resources, taken in connection with the immense western travel which will follow the completion of the Southern railroad from Vicksburg towards Montgomery, and the extension of the Southern Pacific, westward, must at no distant day insure the completion of this great highway, than which none in the State has been conceived in a higher spirit of self-reliant enterprise, or prosecuted with more prudence, ability and industry.

The Baton Rouge and Grosse Tête Railroad, when regarded in connection with the proposed New Orleans and Baton Rouge Railroad, and its present contemplated extension towards Alexandria and Opelousas, rises to a high position in our railroad system. The road has been well managed from the beginning, and all its available resources will be faithfully applied to the extension of the road beyond the Bayou Grosse Tête. The Directors of this enterprise have adopted the true policy, which should govern all our railroad companies; they have increased their negro forces so as to be independent of other labor, and are now most actively engaged in the proposed extension.

It is a source of gratification to inform you that, within my knowledge, the State has not in a single instance granted its aid to an unworthy enterprise, or to one which is not at present entirely solvent, and which will not realize all the benefits anticipated by the most sanguine projectors. In due time I will place before you the various reports of all the railroads in which the State is a stockholder.

REPORT OF THE BOARD OF CURRENCY—THE BANKS.

It affords me great satisfaction again to place before the Legislature the workings of our Banking system, as exhibited in the accompanying report of the Board of Currency for the past year. With the fixed specie basis, not regulated by the fluctuations of commerce, it may be proudly said that our laws regulating the currency, have secured for the State of Louisiana, the true Federal standard, wherewith to measure the products of our industry and of our vast interior trade, and our paper money has in *reality* become the certificates of gold and silver, convertible on demand.

I hope the Legislature will watch, with a jealous eye, any intentional deviation from the wise provisions of law governing our Banks, or any change in the checks and safeguards thrown around our present Banking system. Whilst our laws are stringent in their provisions as regards the management of our monetary institutions, the security thus given to the public, has in no wise destroyed their efficiency in affording the customary facilities to commerce, as evidenced by their regular annual dividends of from eight to fifteen per cent. The Act passed by the last Legislature, requiring weekly statements to be made by the Banks through the Board of Currency, has been put into operation and found to work well. This regulation gives additional guarantees, on the part of the Banks, by causing the balances to be paid every Saturday in coin, under the immediate superintendence of the State authorities, instead of leaving this important matter to the voluntary action of the Banks.

No addition to our Banking capital has been made during the year ; but the Citizens' Bank has established a Branch at Shreveport, to which it has transferred \$100,000 of its capital. The location of this Branch, in the center of an immense agricultural country, shut out, during low water, from all communication with the city of New Orleans, will doubtless prove of great advantage to a large portion of our North-western parishes, in facilitating the movement of their crop to market.

STATE ENGINEER.

I refer you for information to the general report of the State Engineer for the operations of that department, up to the 2d day of January, 1860, the day on which the present Board of Public Works organized. From his report you will at once perceive the indebtedness of that department, and the necessity of prompt action on the part of the Legislature to discharge that indebtedness. This will facilitate the new Board in their future transactions, and at the same time terminate finally the connection of that officer with that branch of government, with which he has been so long and favorably connected.

SWAMP LAND COMMISSIONERS.

The reports from the four Swamp Land Commissioners will place you in

full possession of their labors for the past year. Many of the important works ordered by the last Legislature have been completed, and some are in an incomplete state, owing to their magnitude and the shortness of the season adapted to Levee work.

Upon the very important subject of Levees, I most respectfully renew the recommendations made by me last year to your predecessors. No object of greater moment can claim your attention.

REPORT OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION.

This elaborate document will give all the information necessary to a full understanding of the condition of our Public Schools. The entire system of public education requires remodeling.

STATE SEMINARY OF LEARNING.

I earnestly recommend to your favorable consideration the State Seminary of Learning, established and now under military organization near Alexandria.

The State of Louisiana has been most fortunate in the selection of the corps of Professors, who now have charge of this Institution. An annual appropriation from the General School Fund of twenty-five thousand dollars, would endow this Institution and place it upon a lasting and solid foundation. In consideration of which the Institution could educate forty-eight young men annually, (one from each parish of the State) who should bind themselves, after the completion of their education, to teach a common school for two years. By this arrangement we would have teachers born and reared in our midst, identified in feeling and interest with our institutions, and not be, as we are now, dependent upon other States for public school teachers.

I urge upon the Legislature the passage of a law fixing, at once, the military character of this Institution, and recommend the necessary appropriation to establish and build, in connection therewith, a depot for arms and munitions of war.

NORMAL SCHOOL, NEW ORLEANS.

Your particular attention is invited to the report of the Directors of the Normal School of New Orleans, embraced in the report of the Superintendent of Public Education. This school is certainly worthy of your liberality and fostering care.

STATE LIBRARY.

I cannot close my last annual message without paying a passing notice to Mr. Droz, the able and most efficient Librarian; a worthy, old public servant, who has devoted the best years of his life to his department, who by his activity and industry, has given to the State of Louisiana a Library of which she may well be proud.

BOARD OF HEALTH.

The report of the Board of Health, which I place before you, presents many interesting features and is well worthy of your consideration.

CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS.

The Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind continues to prosper, and now ranks among the most flourishing in the United States. Industrial employments have been introduced, and among them, as required by Act of the last Legislature, printing; in which the pupils have made remarkable proficiency. Should you employ their willing and grateful labor, as I respectfully recommend, in the publication of a Library, for the use of the District Schools, the otherwise necessary expenditures of this Institution would be greatly reduced, and an immense benefit conferred on all children attending our common schools.

The report of the Insane Asylum, at Jackson, will place you in full possession of information relative to its management for the past year, and its wants for the present. I cannot forego the pleasure of saying that this Institution is the best managed, and the cheapest Institution of the kind in the Union, and speaks well for the liberality and generosity of the State of Louisiana.

I commend to your most favorable consideration the report of the Board of Administrators of the Charity Hospital. The Board of Directors and officers of that Institution have discharged their trust with great fidelity.

TRIAL OF SLAVES CHARGED WITH CAPITAL OFFENSES.

I have heretofore called the attention of the Legislature to the law in relation to the trial of slaves charged with capital offenses. This subject, which I deem of great importance, has failed to attract the attention of your predecessors. It now earnestly demands and should receive your attention. The manner in which slaves are now tried, by a special tribunal established for that purpose, results in sending many of them to the State Prison for offenses slight and trivial, whereas if the administration of justice was, in these cases, confined to the District Courts and juries, punishment would be as certain. I would recommend the repeal of the law which inflicts upon a slave the punishment of confinement in the State Penitentiary.

FREE NEGROES, AND SLAVES WHO HIRE THEIR OWN TIME.

Act No. 87, passed by the last General Assembly to prevent the migration of free negroes from other States into this, though thus far zealously enforced, has not accomplished its object. The many means of avoiding the provisions of this Act, by the designing and cunning, will readily present themselves, upon even a casual examination of the law.

There is another subject to which I would here call your attention. With the best intentions, certainly without calculating the evil tendency

of the practice, many of our slave holders have fallen into the pernicious custom of allowing them to hire their own time, or, in other words, extending to them liberties and privileges totally inconsistent with their proper condition and good government. The influence of such example on our slave population is most ruinous, and should be checked by the most stringent laws, made to reach both master and slave.

TERMS OF THE SUPREME COURT.

The law which compels the Supreme Court to hold three separate terms, out of the City of New Orleans, requires amendment. It would be well for the Legislature to fix by law upon some one point out of the City, at which the three terms might be merged into one. This would give to our Judges that relaxation from their arduous duties which is naturally demanded.

GOVERNOR'S MANSION.

I would urge upon the General Assembly the propriety of providing, at the Capital, an Executive Mansion.

On the eve of resigning into the hands of my successor, the duties and responsibilities of the office of Governor, I feel that I can, without indelicacy make this suggestion, and need only say in its support, that it would be but becoming in the great State of Louisiana to offer to her Chief Magistrates, during their terms of administration, a residence suitable to the position.

NORTHERN AGENTS.

Allow me to present, for your consideration, an increasing, rapidly growing evil.

In almost every town and village of our State, are to be seen agents, representatives of large business houses, from the North, who are daily selling, from samples exhibited, goods, wares and merchandize, without paying that license for the support of State government which is demanded and annually collected from our own merchants. I recommend the passage of stringent laws to prevent this species of traffic.

HASTY LEGISLATION.

I would most respectfully impress upon the consideration of the Legislature the evils attending hasty Legislation. It may, with perfect safety be said, that three-fourths of the Acts of the General Assembly which are presented to the Governor for his signature, are passed within the last ten days of each session, thus forcing upon him the duty of approving or withholding his signature to Acts it is physically impossible for him to read with that care and attention which judicious legislation requires; this suggestion is forced upon me by the experience of the last four years; it is not just that this responsibility should be thrown upon the Executive.

FEDERAL RELATIONS.

I had hoped to retire from the exalted position with which the people of the commonwealth have honored me, without extended reference to national affairs or national politics. I had fondly wished that I might bring my administration to a close with a simple, yet favorable allusion to those subjects. It is, however, with profound regret that I feel constrained to announce to you my hopes in this respect have been blighted, and that I deem it my solemn duty, as your Chief Magistrate, and representative of the people, to enlarge upon a disagreeable topic. Its importance demands my best attention, and commands your closest consideration.

The times that are upon us are rapidly precipitating a crisis which must be met manfully. In any event, I know that the people of Louisiana will not be found wanting in a practical vindication of their assailed rights, and a proper defense of their honor. The times and the crisis to which I have alluded, I apprehend will bring into requisition all the qualities indispensable to the vindication of the one and the defense of the other. The character of Louisiana has not yet been stained with servility or dishonor, and I know her people in the present, like her people in the past, would gladly accept any alternative which carries with it honor and insures self-respect, than take a position which might secure temporary profit at the sacrifice of every principle of manhood, every element of independence, every attribute of that lofty sovereignty upon which we have so justly prided ourselves. And when it is taken into consideration that submission will hardly assure temporary security—for compacts with cravens are invariably broken by the stronger party the very instant they have answered their purposes—that aggression after aggression invariably succeeds each compromise of constitutional right and submission to wrong—it is not possible that Louisiana will abate one jot or tittle of her inalienable prerogatives, or swerve in the least from the true, just, and patriotic position she has ever nobly occupied.

My views in regard to the most important home questions are well known to the public and to you. In my inaugural address, and in the annual messages I have since had the honor to lay before the General Assembly, pursuant to the requirements of the Constitution, I have expressed myself at such length and in such a manner as I deemed appropriate. My opinions, therein expressed, have undergone no change, save that which facts and unmistakable circumstances naturally work in the minds of all patriotic citizens. He who learns nothing from the current of passing events, and clings exclusively to the memories of a purer age, and obstinately closes his eyes, heart and brain to the stern actualities of the present, is an unsafe counselor, and if invested with authority, would lead any State or nation into disgrace or ruin, if circumstances permitted the exercise of his destructive proclivities. As times change, men change, and as men

make up the aggregate of communities and nations; communities and nations must also change, to meet well the emergencies of the times as they present themselves. Nothing is immutable, save the laws of God and nature.

For more than a quarter of a century a sectional warfare, based upon hatred of the institution of slavery, has been waged by the North upon the South. At the outset, the members of this despicable organization were contemptible in number and in intellect; and their fanatical, treasonable and atrocious promulgations were deemed as fit subjects for mirth in both sections of the Confederacy. At that time each State respected its constitutional obligations, the comity of the respective sovereignties was maintained, brotherhood and good feeling prevailed well nigh universally—all the South requires now, or wanted then, was the simple observance of the organic compact, which was cheerfully rendered on all sides—the most beneficent system of government the earth ever knew, when rightfully administered: a union of sovereignties under a confederated head, armed with expressly delegated powers, worked so beautifully and harmoniously that it was the wonder and admiration of the world. It grieves me to say that this happy picture has been changed; that the small band of fanatics, once only deemed fit subjects for laughter, have grown into a powerful organization; that the cloud, once a mere speck upon the horizon, has attained such dimensions that it blackens the skies of the majority section of the Confederacy; that sovereign States, through their Legislatures and Governors, have passed laws which set at defiance the Constitution of the United States; which nullify the laws of Congress; which trample under foot the decisions of the Federal Court of last resort, and which openly condemn the executive authority of the government, when exercised in strict conformity to the demands of the Constitution. All this is done too without cause, provocation or warrant of any kind. The slave holding States have not wronged, nor attempted to wrong their Northern brethren in any manner, and in all controversies they have been the first to yield; they have compromised and compromised, for the sake of peace, when they had rights and interests at stake and the North had none—but every yielding, and each compromise, has been followed by fresh demands and renewed aggression, until fanaticism, grown bold by our yielding and compromises, as well as by the wondrous growth of its power in the North, now says in the Federal Senate, in the Hall of the House of Representatives and from the Legislatures of most of the non-slaveholding States, backed by an overwhelming preponderance of the masses, almost sufficient to elect a President, that not another slave State shall ever be admitted into the Union—no matter what the circumstances of the case—no matter what the obligations imposed by one common organic law.

A great, bad man—great in intellect and fearfully great in influence—the foreordained candidate of the Black Republicans for the Presidency,

not twelve months ago announced, in his place in the United States Senate, that his party would soon have control of the Government, and that they would then "re-organize the Supreme Court" in such a manner as would lead to decisions agreeable to themselves. Afterwards, in several speeches, made in his own State, on the eve of a general election, in presence of immense assemblages of the people, he distinctly declared that there was an irrepressible conflict between the free labor of the North and the slave labor of the South, and that the South must become free or the North slave. A few days after the delivery of these addresses, the government of the mightiest State of the Union passed, by an overwhelming majority of the people, into the hands of those who agreed with him in opinion.

What is true of New York, is true when applied to many of the non-slaveholding States; the gloomy pall of Abolitionism overshadows nearly all; and, if we are to take the past as a criterion for the future, it is almost useless to look beyond Mason and Dixon's line for relief, unless the South presents, for the Presidency, a man so unexceptionable as to command respect and support among all good men. And with this, as her ultimatum, the last alternative she will ever present: "Shall this man, unobjectionable in other respects, be rejected merely because his home is in the South? If so, we should know it, and the sooner the better."

But one party—the Democratic party—remains to fight the battle for the Constitution and the Union, as our forefathers framed it. That party, however, notwithstanding its services to the country, the great men it has produced, its claims to general support, its magnificent past and its splendid promises for the future, is in a minority in the majority section of the Confederacy. Its banner has been bravely defended, and there are still gallant spirits in the North who will fight around it to the death. Yet its folds, almost everywhere in that section of the country, are trailed in the dust of defeat. It were idle to close our eyes to these facts—and what would be derelict in a citizen becomes criminal in a public officer. I am determined to discharge *my* duty—the rest remains with you—and to your wisdom and discretion I confidently commit it.

The Harper's Ferry disturbance is a case in point, which significantly indicates the mode of warfare which constantly accumulating thousands propose to wage upon us. The numbers actively engaged in it were insignificant; but when we take into consideration that they committed the crimes of treason and murder, and were provided to equip with arms for the work of death, several thousand slaves or other confederates; that the general press and people of the extreme North, on various grounds, sympathised with the traitors and murderers and solicited their pardon, we cannot close our eyes to the inauspicious condition of affairs.

The State of Virginia has nobly vindicated her laws and brought the traitors to condign punishment. This is gratifying, although it was nothing more than was to be expected from the proud old mother of sages and

Statesmen. But, whilst we acknowledge and commend all this, is there not something more than words required from the less exposed slaveholding States? The battle for our rights, and in defense of our institutions, is to be fought, must be fought, in the border States where slavery exists. It would be cowardice, as well as penuriousness, to leave them to fight the battle alone, which, in more than one sense, is our battle as much as theirs; we should give them actual sympathy, positive support. Virginia, a slaveholding border State, has been invaded. The sovereignty of Virginia has been properly vindicated by Virginia. To do this, she asked, needed no assistance. But it cost her money to crush and punish the enemy of the South. To assure her, as well as the other border slave States, of the active cooperation of Louisiana; to show them that we recognise their cause as our cause, I recommend the immediate appropriation by the Legislature of twenty five thousand dollars, as Louisiana's quota toward these expenses, accompanied by a solemn pledge that our State will stand by her sister Southern States to the utmost extent of the men and means she can command, in any course they may see proper to adopt to secure our Constitutional rights.

Having now, as briefly as possible, glanced at affairs as they exist, it may be expected that I should suggest some remedy. It is said that there is a cure for all ills; whether there is a cure for the fanaticism which afflicts the Northern portion of the country, I have my doubts. Unless its course be checked there can be no restoration of that good feeling between the two sections, which is the only hope for the preservation of the Union in its integrity. The common enemy must, therefore, be confronted and beaten back; his approach must not be waited for; that, in my opinion, would be ruinous. I believe it has been the fault of the South from the beginning; had we never compromised away a constitutional right, we would not be situated as we now are.

I recommend a complete re-organization of the militia. Pass a law so clear, stringent and comprehensive that evasion would be impossible, which would compel the formation and drill of one or more volunteer companies, in proportion to population, in every parish in the State. Let the State provide them with arms and establish armories. The State should provide for the equipment of her own men, in all respects, within herself, so as to be independent, should the hour of trial come, of all outside assistance. A sovereignty that is incapable of doing this, or being capable, is, under the present circumstances, unwilling, is unfit to exercise rights of sovereignty. I am sure Louisiana will never prove recreant, hence the generality of my recommendations. If my suggestions are carried out, the State will be put upon a war footing, at a small expense, and will be prepared to meet any emergency.

I would further recommend that the General Assembly pass laws for the encouragement of domestic industry and enterprise of every description.

We are a nation within ourselves, superabundantly endowed with every element of wealth and greatness, provided it is fostered and promoted by the wisdom of its Legislature and the skill and industry of our citizens.

Several of the slave States have proposed, in a certain contingency, a Congress or convention for consultation and the adoption of means of mutual safety. As the meeting of such a body would violate no law, infringe no right, and might be advantageous, I recommend that Louisiana meet her Southern sister States in that or any other body she may be called upon to participate in. It would be manifest discourtesy in her to refuse to counsel in the hour of danger with those whose interests are identical with her own.

It has been said, in view of the embittered hostility of the North to us and the institution of slavery, that retaliatory measures should be adopted in self-defense. In this there is much reason and truth, and if Southern Legislatures can retaliate, without a violation of law, they will be recreant to their duty if they do not do so. The North, its population considered, is a dependent section of the country; it exports comparatively nothing of its own products, and imports nearly every thing. It trades on other people's capital. It lives by the use of the products of the South—without the patronage of the South, well nigh universal bankruptcy would ensue. The South, importing hardly any thing, exports, in fact, three-fourths of the products of the country, which pay the debts of the country. If the cotton crop of the South were to fail, for a single year, there would not be a solvent bank capitalist, manufacturer or ship owner in the entire North. No business man will controvert this proposition.

How are we to retaliate?

Distinguished jurists, men learned in the law, have expressed the deliberate opinion that the Legislature of any State can, by a system of licensing, or by special taxation, inflict such discrimination upon goods, *when exposed for sale* within their jurisdiction, as will amount to absolute prohibition. On this point I express no positive opinion, and only suggest the subject, it having been favorably mentioned in high quarters. Yet, I deem it worthy of your consideration, for if you find the proposition entirely legal, and conclude to adopt it, it will have the effect of making New Orleans, the largest importing, as she is now the largest exporting, city on the continent. State discrimination against every thing manufactured in those States warring upon our institutions, or imported there and brought here, which would approach the line of prohibition, would necessarily superinduce direct importation.

I need not dilate upon the immense advantages which would enure to the State by making New Orleans the great importing, as she now is the exporting metropolis of the Union. She would immediately become the center of exchanges, and her revenues to the treasury, at the present rates of taxation, would, in a decade, far exceed those now paid by the entire State.

And now, gentlemen, through you, I tender to a generous people, the thanks of a grateful heart.

ROBERT C. WICKLIFFE.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

OF

Governor Thomas O. Moore,

DELIVERED JANUARY 23, 1860,

TO THE

LEGISLATURE

OF THE

STATE OF LOUISIANA.



BATON ROUGE:

J. M. TAYLOR, STATE PRINTER.
1860.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

OF

GOVERNOR THOMAS O. MOORE.

Gentlemen of the General Assembly, and Fellow-Citizens :

I assume the office of Chief Magistrate of the State of Louisiana with unaffected distrust of my ability to meet its responsibilities so as to give full satisfaction to you. It was with real reluctance that I consented to be a candidate, and the people thought fit to elect me without effort or solicitation on my part. Owing no obligation to particular persons, or particular interests, my thanks for the honor conferred upon me are due to my fellow-citizens belonging to the same political communion with myself, and to the people of the State at large, and it shall be the earnest effort of my administration to deserve the support of all.

In accepting the nomination of the Democratic party, I necessarily stood pledged to spare no exertion to vindicate its principles and establish its measures. It is my conscientious conviction that by them alone can the Federal and State Governments be safely administered. Its policy in Federal affairs has supported the interests of all sections, elevated the national character, and enlarged the boundaries of the Union. In State affairs it has respected the rights of all persons and of all classes, and with unshrinking fidelity protected them from aggression and proscription. These are the true objects of all just government, and to these its policy will be directed. I can best advance the public good by steadfastly adhering to the principles by which these results have been produced.

The Constitution makes it the duty of the Governor to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and the power of appointment has been confided to him to a limited extent to assist him in the performance of this duty. His responsibility for the conduct of public officers must be measured by

his power over their appointment. He cannot be held accountable for what may be done or omitted by those to whom he has given no trust and whom he cannot remove. But he should be held to a strict account for the character of those whom he may select for public employment. I shall invite a rigid scrutiny into the manner in which this, as indeed all other official duties are performed. I will not, knowingly, appoint to office any man who is not qualified to discharge every duty belonging to it, with knowledge, skill and fidelity. Integrity and competency must be essential prerequisites to the appointment of public officers. These being fully shown, reasonable weight may be permitted to political considerations ; mere partizanship constitute no claim upon the appointing power. The support of a party for reward is a degradation—not a merit—for the principles of a party can only be considered valuable where they contribute to the general good. As Governor of Louisiana, it will be my first duty to see that the public service under my control is conducted with honesty and capacity.

Economy in the administration of a Government ought always to be insisted upon, and retrenchment, in all cases, when it can wisely be made. Unfortunately a disposition to retrench the Treasury expenditures is usually directed to branches of service in which it is least demanded. There is really no just cause of complaint against the salaries of the officers of the State, yet these are usually attacked when there is a desire to curtail the public expenses, and they are attacked because all are familiar with them, and few know where to look for the leaks that empty the Treasury. But prodigality rarely exhibits itself on the surface of Government expenses. It is in the details of administration that extravagance is to be detected, and whenever the subject is properly investigated, it may be found that large sums of money are wasted which could be saved to the Treasury by the observance of a correct system and the exaction of a stern accountability. I shall take pains to call the attention of the General Assembly to such reforms in all the departments of Government as the people may demand. The subject belongs, particularly, to the legislative branch of the Government, and my hearty co-operation will be given to every measure that will tend to lessen the public burthens. But nothing of any value can be accomplished without a careful scrutiny and a rigid inquiry, conducted with a steady determination to expose extravagance whenever and wherever discovered, and then with an unflinching hand to apply the appropriate remedy.

But while urging frugality in the administration of the Government, let it not be supposed that I am unwilling to aid in such judicious expenditures as will develop the resources of the State. Louisiana has been something of a laggard in the career of internal improvement. It is within a brief period that railroads have been commenced under the auspices of the State ; and even to this day, not a dollar has been spent for a geolo-

gical survey of the State, an object of primary importance to every parish within her borders. Under the guarded provisions of our Constitution, it is almost impossible for the State to fall into any very serious error in aiding in the construction of useful works. The danger lies less in extending constitutional assistance to corporations for building railroads, than in the careless execution of the laws by which the State becomes a corporator. Unless studiously watched, the restrictions imposed by the organic law will be evaded by the corporations, and the State not only exposed to loss, but the spirit, if not the letter of the Constitution, be violated.

A careful review of our State affairs and a vigilant examination into our resources, is more incumbent on us now than heretofore, in view of the disturbed state of our relations with a large portion of the people of other parts of the Union.

Louisiana has always been moderate and conservative in her sentiments. She has never at any period of our national history countenanced extreme opinions or violent measures. Her citizens have ever been loyal lovers of the Union of these States as made and administered by our fathers. If her devotion to the Union shall be weakened, it will be because of the intolerance of a sectional majority ; and if it be ever obliterated it will be because that intolerance has resulted in practical oppression, or produced a state of things to which no sensitive people can submit.

But loyal as Louisiana is known to be to the Federal Union, it must not be forgotten that she is something more than a mere State of the Union. She is, by her position, by her principles, and by her choice, a Southern slaveholding State, and events seem to be hastening to a crisis the relation which those States bear to the Union, in which her duty to herself and to her sister States may be brought into painful conflict with her devotion to the Union. A great party has grown up at the North and West whose sole bond of union is animosity to the institutions of fifteen of the States of the Union. So bitter is this hostility felt towards the slavery that these fifteen States regard as a great social and political blessing, that it exhibits itself in legislation for the avowed purpose of destroying the rights of slaveholders guaranteed by the Constitution and protected by acts of Congress. Popular addresses, Legislative resolutions, Executive communications, the press and the pulpit, all inculcate hatred against us and war upon the institution of slavery, an institution interwoven with the very elements of our existence. The fanaticism engendered in the popular mind by the doctrines taught and the enmity excited, manifested itself very recently by an irruption of armed men in the State of Virginia, whose object was to incite insurrection, and whose means were treason and murder. The abrupt end to which the conspiracy was brought, and the sharp, quick and just punishment of the conspirators, proved that the South had not over-estimated the stability of her institutions. But the apologies and eulogiums which developed at the North a wide-spread sympathy with the

felons, have deepened the distrust in the permanency of our Federal Government, and awakened sentiments favorable to a separation of the States.

The representatives of these feelings against us and our domestic institutions are now struggling to obtain possession of the Government, so that Federal law may illustrate their doctrines, and Federal power enforce them. I can not contemplate without the most serious alarm the condition to which the Southern States will be reduced, if a political party, organized only in one section of the country, and without followers, or sympathizers in the other, should obtain possession of the Government, when the only foundation on which that party rests, is detestation of slavery, and when the minority slave section will be without the power to protect itself through the instrumentality of Federal authority. When that time arrives the Southern States will be practically without representation in the Federal Government, and the South occupy the position of subjugated States.

The Union can not last without a recognition of the vital principles of the Constitution, that the States are equal in the Confederacy. Every State must be permitted to determine her own social institutions, and left to the enjoyment of them in peace ; and the Territories, the common property of the States, must be freely opened to settlement by the people of the confederated equals. The insulting demand that there shall be no more slave States, must be abandoned, because it not only tends to make us politically inferior, but because it brands as a disgrace an institution which we prize as a blessing. So a like offense is offered and wrong inflicted on the South by the heresy of popular sovereignty, by which slaveholders are to be excluded from the Territories, by the unfriendly legislation of the Territorial Governments. The Supreme Court of the United States has settled the principle that must rule : neither Congress nor the Territorial Governments can constitutionally exclude slavery from the Territories. A southern man can therefore rightfully take his slaves into the Territories. As the Territorial Governments are without the legal power to exclude slavery, it is difficult to understand how they can be allowed to do indirectly that which they are prohibited from doing directly. It is the duty of Congress to protect the property which is taken to the Territories under the sanction of the Constitution, and to guard that property from the neglect or unfriendliness of the Territorial Government, which is but the creature of Congress. The Southern States deny nothing to the Northern which they claim for themselves. They insist only on equality, and it remains only to be decided in the struggle now pending whether this equality will be conceded to them—and I am one who does not despair that it will.

There is a patriotic minority in the non-slaveholding States, who are faithfully upholding the rights of the South and battling for the maintenance of the Constitution. The entire South makes common cause with this minority, constituting a great national party, all striving to conquer and annihilate that sectional party, whose success will immediately jeopard

and finally sever the Union. The triumph of this great national organization will be the beginning of a return to that "perfect union," that "general welfare," and that "domestic tranquility," which the Constitution of the United States was intended to promote and secure. Such a triumph would greatly restore the old harmony and awaken again the old sentiments—and it is the last hope of those, who, like myself, desire to see the Union perpetuated. Louisiana does not wish to see these States severed from their present political connection. But no man who has watched the course of the public mind can fail to have observed that in Louisiana, as in the other Southern States, the progress of disunion feeling has been marked and rapid. I am sure, however, that all concur in this, that Louisiana, dearly as she loves the Union, will never separate herself from her sister slave States. Identity of interests and the sympathy growing out of like social institutions, would without the compulsion of political necessity, lead her to take whatever position the dangers of the times might demand her to assume. The dangers are grave and indeed appalling; and it is proper that we prepare to meet them, as our sister slave States propose to do, by a thorough organization of our militia system. This would be judicious under any circumstances, and its good effects will be enduring, even if the present emergency pass away. It is my belief, as well as my hope, that it will, and that there will yet be allowed to all the States independence and equality, and that harmony and peace will be restored to our people without a sacrifice of interest or a loss of honor.

SPECIAL MESSAGE

OF

Thomas O. Moore,

GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF LOUISIANA,

TO THE

GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

DECEMBER, 1860.

BATON ROUGE:

J. M. TAYLOR, STATE PRINTER.

1860.

MESSAGE

S12976

22

OF THE

GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF LOUISIANA.

*Gentlemen of the Senate and of the House of Representatives
of the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana :*

I have convened your Honorable Bodies at this unusual time to consider the condition of our present, and future relations to the Federal Government, before the control of that Government is lodged in the hands of a party, whose avowed principles are in antagonism to the interests, the dignity, and the well being of Louisiana. The occasion calls for grave deliberation, wise counsel, cool judgment, and manly action. It will be your province to decide whether its importance justifies the assembling of the people, through their Delegates, in extraordinary Convention, to determine, in that sovereign capacity, the remedy proper to be applied to existing evils. Never have we been more in need of the protecting care and wise guidance of that Divine Providence, whose aid and influences it becomes States as well as individuals to invoke.

An event has now occurred of the gravest import to the people of this whole country, but especially to those of the Southern States. Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin having received the indorsement of the political Party calling itself Republican, the fundamental principle of which is an unreasoning and fanatical hostility to slavery, have now been elected to the two highest offices in our Federal Government, by a purely sectional vote, and in contempt of the earnest protest of the other section, that such election would be considered evidence of a deliberate design to pervert the powers of the Government to the immediate injury and ultimate destruction of its peculiar institution. Thirty years ago, the public expression of such opinions as are now entertained and avowed by these two men, in any part of this country, outside of New England, would have insured to their utterer swift and ignominious punishment. The representative man of those opinions, chosen as the instrument to effect their practical operation upon the administration of the National Government, is now about to occupy the chair of Washington. So great has been the change of public sentiment in the non-slaveholding States of this Confederacy upon a question, vital to our interests, and interwoven with every ramification of our social system.

I feel myself oppressed by the magnitude of the issue involved in the action of our State at this crisis. I have beheld with admiration the beautiful and well-proportioned fabric, made by our forefathers' hands, of a Union of Equals, under safeguards provided by a Constitution adapted to the wants of the age in which it was made. I have clung with warm affection to the Government, under which we have become so prosperous and great, and have endeavored to repel the conviction, which events have forced upon me, that that Government is about to be perverted to purposes never designed by its founders; that the Union is broken in spirit by the attempted destruction of the equality of the States which compose it, and the forms of the Constitution invoked to cloak the perpetration of outrages upon the rights of some of the Sovereignities which formed it.

Slavery existed in the Colonies in the Revolutionary era, and in every State but one, when the Constitution was formed. Its existence was recognized in that instrument by providing for its representation in the popular House of the National Legislature. The Master was protected by an express affirmation of his right as a citizen of one State to have "delivered up" to him his slave "escaping into another." To this agreement and compact, sovereign States assented; it was part of the bond; it was one of the conditions of fellowship—one of the inducements to the States where slaves were most numerous, and slavery was thought to be permanently fixed, to secure their adhesion to a Union which all then believed would "insure domestic tranquility" and "promote the general welfare." In a few years the States having an ungenial climate and a sterile soil found they had no need of slavery as a system of labor, and abolished it within their own limits. They were prompted to this not by considerations of mock philanthropy, as is assumed in the hypocritical cant of these latter days, but simply and exclusively by a regard to their material interests. Other States, situated in a more tropical clime, and having within their borders a soil adapted to the growth of products which increase the happiness and augment the wealth of mankind, have retained slavery, because practical experience has demonstrated that it is useful, profitable, and essential. While, however, the great law of necessity and adaptation has controlled the operation of changes in the two systems of labor, we have not ignored the moral and social aspect of the question. Men of intelligence—politicians, moralists, and statesmen—formerly apologized for the existence of slavery among us on the score of inexorable necessity, and shrank from a defense of their people for its retention. But when Abolitionism, emboldened by increasing strength, began to attack our system of labor as a sin and a crime, the moral and religious aspects of the question became the subjects of scrutiny, and the result has been a complete vindication of our institution, and a correction of popular errors concerning it. We have decided to retain it, and believe that any other people, similarly circumstanced, will be benefitted by it. The

non-slaveholding States got rid of it, and we did not complain. They exercised their own judgment and gratified their own desires by that act. But these States not only determined that they would not have slavery themselves, but they have also declared that no new Sovereignty within the sphere of their influence shall have it, and no new soil shall be worked by it, although the inhabitants shall have carried slaves, along with the other members of their household and other property, to their new home, and shall themselves desire the existence of the institution. This is an intolerant and intolerable assumption of power—an avowal of a reckless resolve to disregard the rights of Southern citizens, and to deprive us of one of the inherent and necessary privileges which attach to us as equals.

So long as such sentiments were confined to scattered, and uninfluential, and demented zealots in New England, they excited no other feeling than contemptuous commiseration, but they have now permeated the whole structure of social and industrial life in the non-slaveholding States, and leavened the whole mass. Their gradual propagation has been evinced by the legislation of these States. Nearly every one of them have nullified the Fugitive Slave Law, and enacted the most stringent penalties against assisting any Master in recovering his slave. There are not more than two or at most three Northern States, I think, that have not legislated in some manner inimical to the clear Constitutional right of the slave owner in this particular. The use of their prisons is denied for the lodgment of escaped slaves, and every officer and citizen is forbidden, under pain of punishment, heavier than that inflicted by them for some heinous crimes, to aid or assist in any manner in the capture of our negroes, while the complete freedom of the slave from any danger from arrest and detention is secured by Personal Liberty Bills. They boast of annually depriving us of that species of property to the extent of millions of dollars. Their citizens form combinations to prevent the emigration of Southern citizens with their slaves, into the unoccupied and common domain of the country. The man who is now the President elect of this Republic of States, has declared, at a recent date, that we could not remain as we have ever been, part slave and part free, but that the conflict between the Northern and Southern systems of labor must end with the downfall of slavery.

The election of Mr. Lincoln by the Northern people, as the representative of these opinions, and the executor of such intentions as are foreshadowed without ambiguity by the public men and political bodies having affinity with him, shews that the Northern mind is poisoned against us, and that it no longer respects our rights, or their obligations. The large majorities given in most of these States for the Electors favorable to Mr. Lincoln, is an evidence of the universality of this feeling of hostility to our institutions, and of the depth to which this delusion of the popular mind has penetrated. The wise counsels of the Fathers are forgotten or unheeded—the fraternal remonstrances of the South, whether made by individual

citizens, or sovereign States, are disregarded—the warning of one of their own statesmen, himself an Ex-President, that the South neither would nor ought to submit to the election of any one avowing their traitorous policy, has been treated as idle gasconade, and a mad and senseless fanaticism has taken possession of the Northern mind, as if they designed either to drive us to a desperate remedy, or, deceived by our forbearance, relied on our devotion to the Union to force us into a torpid acquiescence, if not an unmanly submission.

The time was when men shrank from calculations of the value of the Union. That has long since passed, and now they who, during a long life, have ever cherished and cultivated veneration for the Government with an almost religious fervor, are driven to the contemplation of its disruption. The Constitution is the only bond of Union. But if it is to be respected and obeyed by the Northern people only when it chimes with their theoretical opinions, or conserves their interests—if we are practically assigned the position of inferiors, when the letter and spirit of the bond is that we are equals—if we are to be oppressed and despoiled of our property, and to be tyrannized over by a hostile Government, and expected to submit because the outrage is perpetrated under the forms of law, then it is better we should retire from an association which has ceased to benefit us through perversion from its original design.

In order therefore, that the future position and proper policy of the State of Louisiana may receive the thoughtful and calm consideration which it deserves, and that her citizens may have an opportunity of giving form and expression to their views in this regard, I recommend to your Honorable Bodies, to provide for the election of Members of a Convention, as soon as may be proper with due regard to time, to whom shall be committed the duty and responsibility of determining that position, and shaping that policy so far as affects the relations of Louisiana to the Federal Government. That Convention will meet, consult, and decide without regard to my opinions as contained in this Message, but I do not think it proper, under existing emergencies, that I, the Chief Executive Officer of the State, should omit the expression of my convictions as to the course which our State ought to pursue.

I have earnestly desired that a Conference or Convention of the slaveholding States should be held in order that they might counsel together, and act unitedly in this grave crisis. I still desire that such a Conference shall be had, if practicable in point of time. Louisiana ought not to refuse to meet her sister slaveholding States in council, and there unitedly determine upon a firm demand to be made of the Northern States for the repeal of their obnoxious legislation, and the guarantee and security of those rights, which have so long been persistently refused. Still, although such a course has seemed to my mind desirable, and I had hoped that a practical and practicable plan might ere this have

been suggested to accomplish this object, I do not think the action of Louisiana should be unreasonably postponed under the mere hope or expectation that such a Body would be at some distant time convened. It should meet at once, and determine at once, before the day arrives for the inauguration of a Black Republican President.

I do not think it comports with the honor and self-respect of Louisiana, as a slaveholding State, to live under the Government of a Black Republican President. I will not dispute the fact that Mr. Lincoln is elected according to the forms of the Constitution; but the greatest outrages, both upon public and private rights, have been perpetrated under the forms of law. This question rises high above ordinary political considerations. It involves our present honor, and our future existence as a free and independent people. It may be said that when this Union was formed it was intended to be perpetual. So it was, so far as such a term can be applied to anything human; but it was also intended to be administered in the same spirit in which it was made, with a scrupulous regard to the equality of the Sovereignities composing it. We certainly are not placed in the position of subjects of a European despotism, whose only door of escape from tyranny is the right of revolution. I maintain the right of each State to secede from the Union, and therefore whatever course Louisiana may pursue now, if any attempt should be made by the Federal Government to coerce a sovereign State, and compel her to submission to an authority which she has ceased to recognize, I should unhesitatingly recommend that Louisiana assist her sister State with the same alacrity and courage that the Colonies assisted each other in their struggle against the despotism of the Old World.

If I am not mistaken in public opinion, the Convention, if assembled, will decide that Louisiana will not submit to the Presidency of Mr. Lincoln. In the temper of the Northern mind it is not possible to foresee the course of policy that Congress may determine upon, and it is the part of wisdom to prepare ourselves for any emergency that its legislation may produce. We are without arms to defend ourselves from attack should our sovereignty be assailed, and it therefore becomes our imperative duty to adopt immediate measures for supplying ourselves with all materials for war. In the brief period which you are likely to remain in session it would be impracticable to reorganize our militia system on a sound basis. In order, therefore, to be prepared for prompt and judicious action, I recommend the creation of a Military Board, or Commission, whose duty it shall be to purchase arms and distribute them to volunteer companies throughout the State, under a system to be devised by the Board. This Board should also be required to mature a plan for the reorganization of our militia, and report to the regular session of the General Assembly on the first day of the session. It should be composed of men of military education and experience, who will

thoroughly understand our wants, and the best and least expensive mode of providing for them. A liberal appropriation ought to be made by the General Assembly—not less than half a million of dollars—to be expended, under the authority of the Board, in the purchase of the best made arms, of the most improved patterns. Even if our relations with the Federal Government were other than they are, I should still recommend the same appropriation; for the State may be said to be almost entirely without arms, as you will find by reference to the report of the Adjutant General, which accompanies this Message.

THOMAS O. MOORE.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, Baton Rouge, Dec. 10, 1860.